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THE
PUNJAB TRAGEDY
(1947)

By
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Author of 'THE INDIAN STRUGGLE 1942'
and
'THE INDIAN NATION'



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OPINIONS

Sir Dalip Singh says:—

I have no doubt that such a book will be extremely useful to throw light on any controversies either now existing or likely to exist in future.

Shri K.M. Munshi says :—

Prof. Darbara Singh has taken considerable pains in collecting the data relating to the tragic happenings in the Punjab, just before and after partition of the country. As a result of his labours he has succeeded in presenting to the public a connected picture.

No doubt, on a question of this nature difference of opinion may exist as to how the catastrophe would have been avoided and remedies could have been appropriately applied.

Since the days of my Akhand Hindustan campaign Lahore was after Bombay, the place I loved most. The Punjab thought that day, rather foolishly, that my raising the voice for a united India would help to

keep it so. Mighty forces, however, were at work. My appeal for aggressive resistance to a partition had no appeal for those who led our political movements. Perhaps they were right. The tragedy of it was that we knew not the measure of the forces at work against us.

Partition came; nothing else was possible in the context of a non-violent struggle for freedom that we were conducting. But violence or no violence, Liberty is never won without an upheaval, strife or destruction in one shape or the other. Akhand Hindustan, a living organism, was being torn asunder, and the Hindus and the Sikhs of the North Western belt paid the price.

The Punjab, the land of plenty and of enterprising Hindus and valourous Sikhs, of Ranjitsingh and Dayanand Sarasvati, is now no more. My heart is with its sons and daughters who had to flee from their homes and come to us in search of security. When they bled, the heart of the country bled with them, and it will continue to bleed till every one of them is settled happily and the old scars are healed.

But they are now in a new home, secure and compact, though for a generation or so it might appear inhospitable, their first need is to adjust themselves to the new surroundings. Those who criticise the Nehru Government for its treatment of refugees should never forget that these happenings were unexpected and of bestiality unimaginable. The Government, was new to

administration; the set up in part was weak; and the thing came with the rapidity of an avalanche. But the Govt. did its best; the military organisation was heroic; no human agency could do more; and the nightmare has been lifted.

Let us be happy that India has won its way through these gruesome trials.

1844
The first of the year
The first of the year
The first of the year
The first of the year

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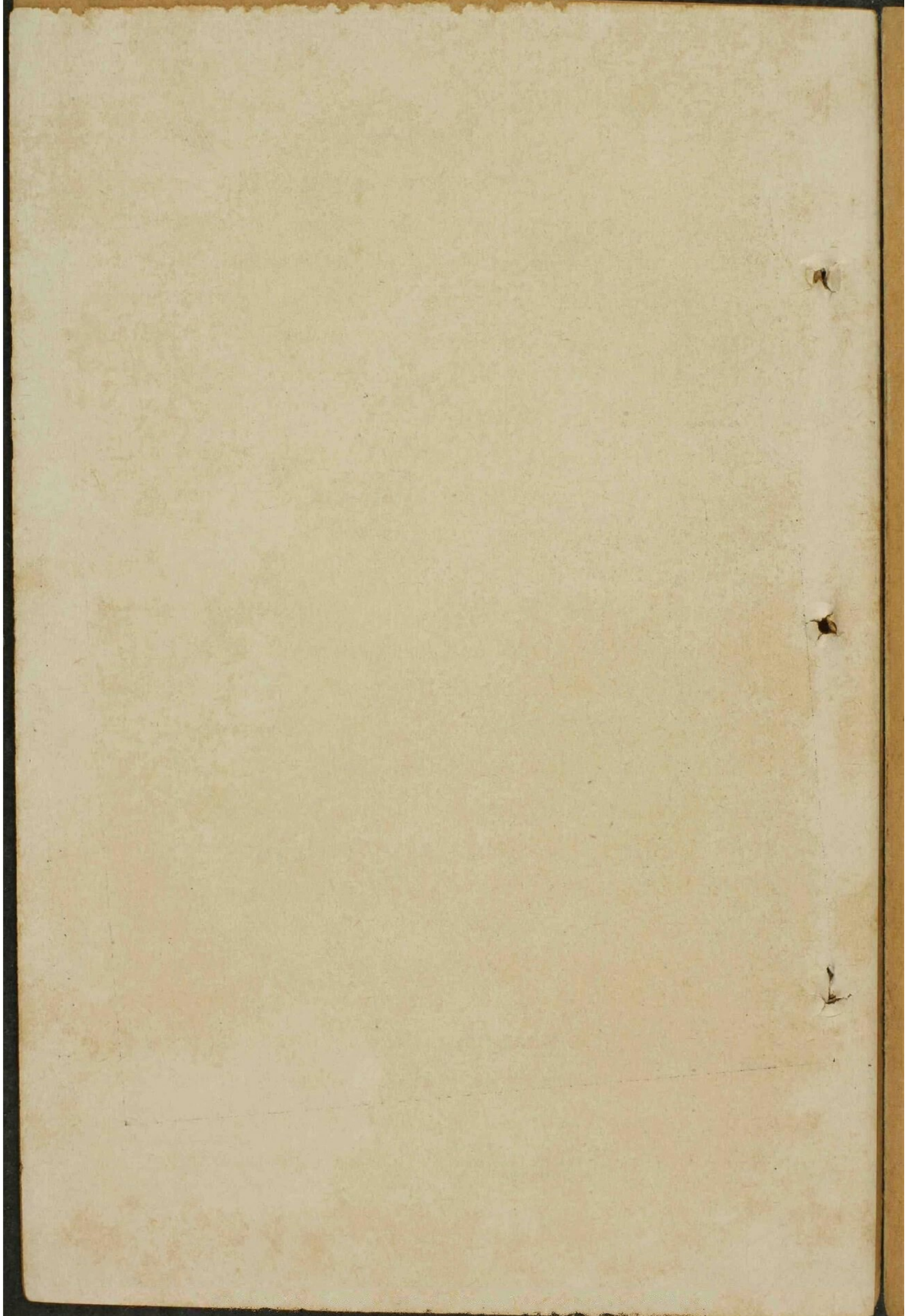
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A group of the Sikhs of Rawalpindi villages forcibly converted as Muslims in M.



PREFACE.

It is not a matter of pleasure to the author to present this book to the people ; rather it is a matter of great distress and pain to him. Only the sense of duty to tell the people truth about the happenings impelled him to write this book and he has laboured for it. The author felt that he could do it well and he presents this book.

The book is undoubtedly a story of blood-shed, killing, burning, loot, arson, rape, abductions and wild fanaticism of the most horrible type the world has ever witnessed or is likely to. It is a story of woes, miseries, cries, lamentations, tears, and tribulations of the most heartrending and piteous nature, of countless innocent men, women and children. It shows the depths of degradation to which human beings sank in these civilised times. It is clearly a matter of shame to the perpetrators and planners of these diabolic crimes.

The underlying idea in writing this book is not so much to apportion blame as to let people know what has actually happened and to bring home to them the serious consequences of planning to disturb humanity, misleading others, and in being misled by selfish leaders. The book will serve as an eye-opener for future generations as to what is their duty when selfishness begins to reign supreme as it is only the poor innocent people who actually suffer in such a game. God forbid such a horrible drama should ever be repeated.

The title of the book is slightly at variance with its subject matter as the accounts of places such as N.W.F.P. Karachi, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmere, etc., have also been given. This has been thought necessary as the disturbances at these places took place at the same time and were created by the same kind of people, imbued with the same idea of revenge and retaliation and because these places are contiguous with the Punjab.

The sources of information of the author are the accounts of reliable refugees themselves, who poured into the Khalsa College Transit Camp, where the author worked for months together helping the refugees, the accounts of his relatives who suffered grievously in Rawalpindi villages, the eye-witness accounts given by some of his senior students of the college the eye-witness accounts of the author himself regarding Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and many other places, and the accounts appeared in important newspapers such as *The Hindustan Times*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, *The Statesman*, *The Tribune*, *The Punjab Times*, *The Ajit*, *The Tej*, etc, which the author could get during the days of disturbances. In this connection it is highly regretted that *The Pakistan Times*, the vocal organ of the Pakistan Muslim League, could not be consulted as the editor of the paper refused to send the author the paper when requested and even reminded. Although the manuscript

was completed a little earlier yet, for reasons of expediency its publication was held over for some time.

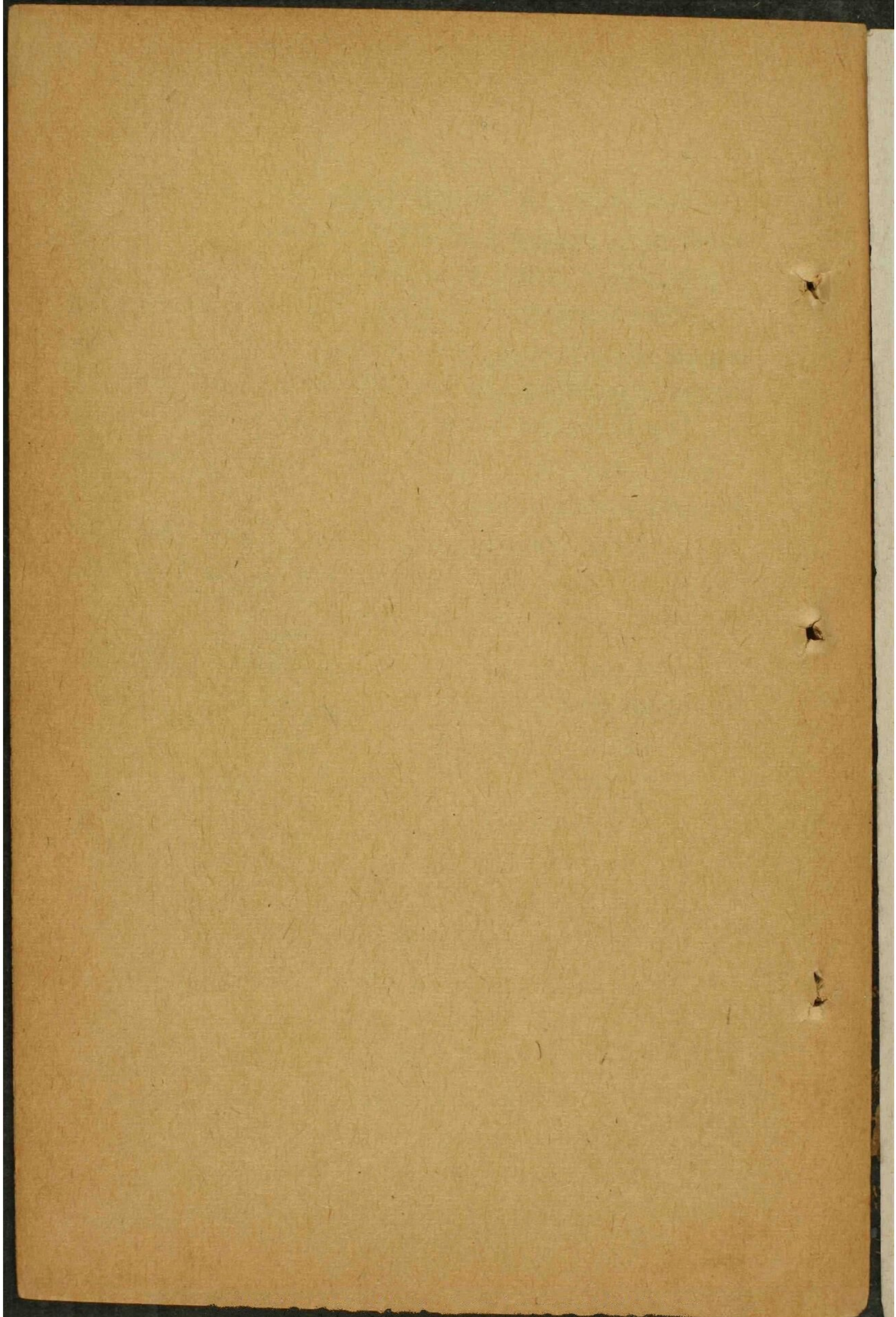
The author has not attempted to suppress relevant facts or distort accounts of any place. What ever, having direct bearing on the subject matter of the book, he came across, he has, after sifting and examining, incorporated in it.

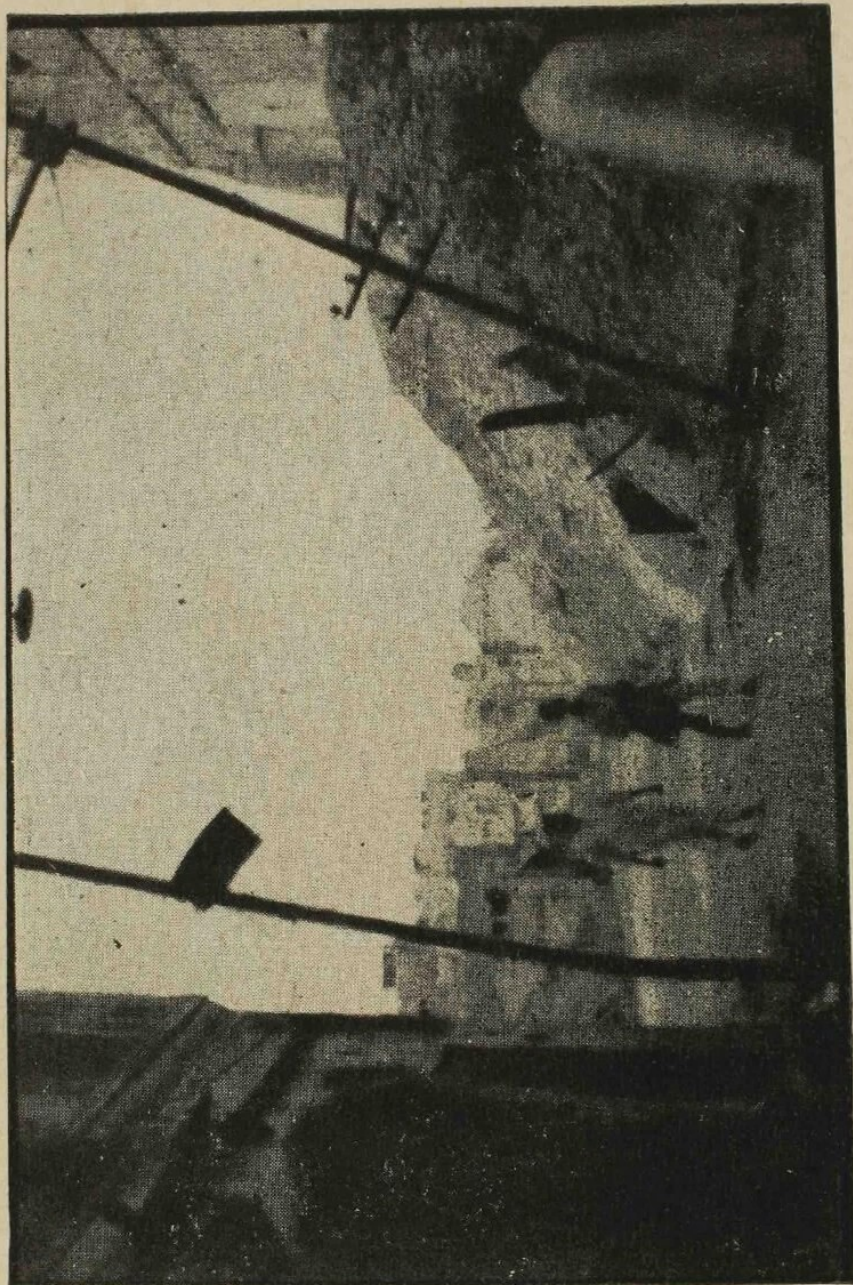
It is hoped the public will find the account, given in this book, as correct, reliable and impartial, which has been the attempt of the author.

The author will highly appreciate and thankfully receive any more facts for insertion in the book and suggestion towards its improvement.

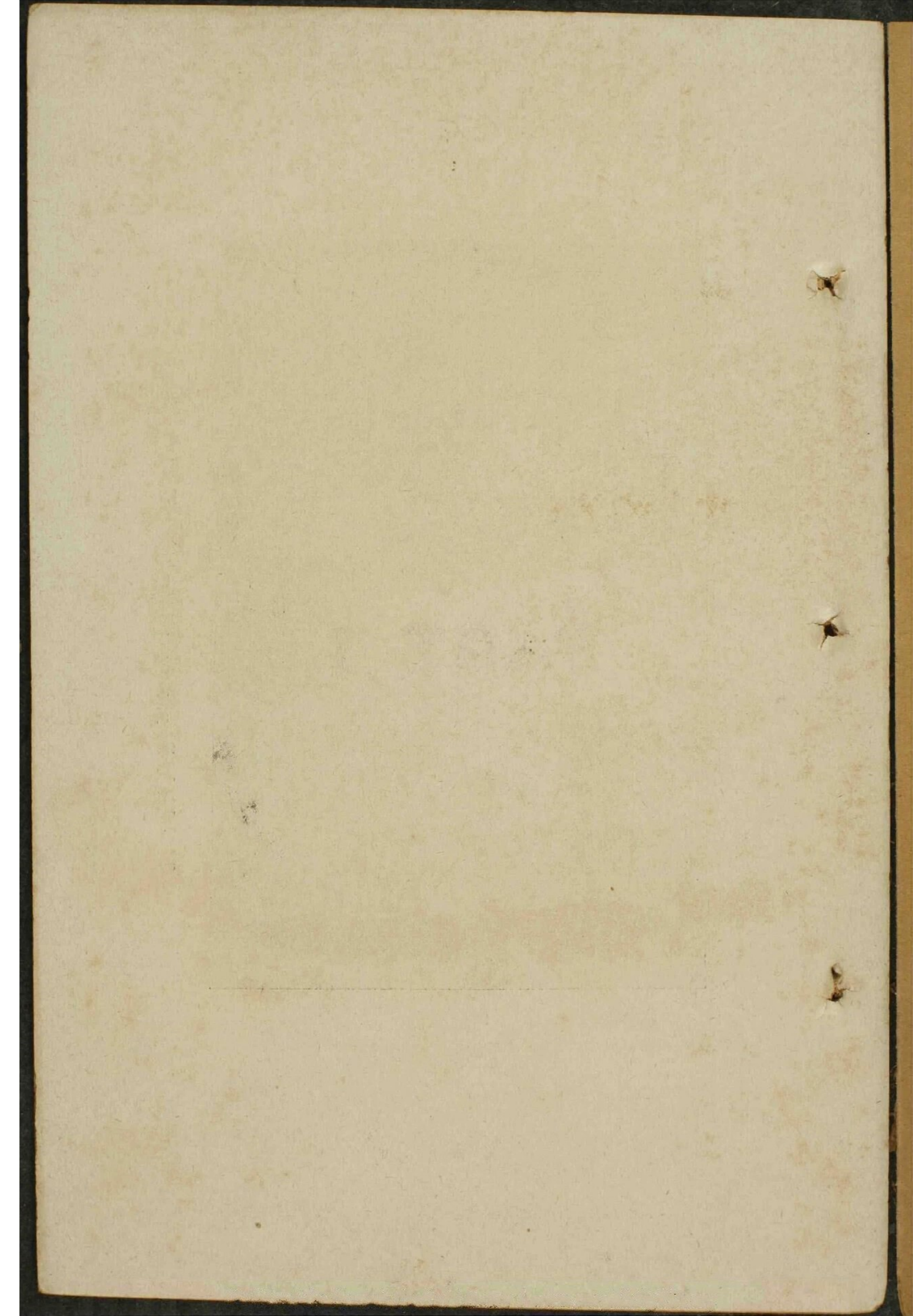
Dated the
10th June, 1949.

DARBARA SINGH.





The Hall Bazar Amritsar after destruction.



PART I

1724

CHAPTER I

The Historical Background.

The unfortunate disturbances in the Punjab started on March 2, 1947, and at 10.15 p. m. when the hitherto premier of the province, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, went to the Government house to tender resignation of his duties and privileges to Sir Evan Jenkins. Sir Khizar was the leader of the Congress-Akali-Unionist Coalition consisting of 95 members—50 Congress, 23 Akali, 2 Hindu, 4 Schedule Caste, 10 Muslim, 1 Independent Muslim, 1 European, 2 Indian Christian, 1 Anglo-Indian and 1 Independent Hindu. He was also the head of the Unionist party. The Coalition, hence, had a solid majority and there was no fear of any defection. At 4-15 p. m. the Coalition party held a meeting on that day at Lahore at the residence of the premier and transacted important business and none could scent what was going, in a couple of hours, to be the fate of the Coalition and of the Punjab, nay of the whole India.

Perhaps the real cause of the resignation of Sir Khizar will never be known to the world although the probability is that he was advised to act in that way by Sir Evan Jenkins who had plans ready regarding the Punjab. There are some who opine that it was directly the result of pressure politics of the League and Sir Khizar thought it expedient to yield to it but careful scrutiny will

at once discountenance it. In this connection Sir Khizar gave a statement which is as follows.

"H.M.G. have declared their solemn resolve to start immediately the process of transferring the balance of political power into Indian hands and to complete it by June 1948. To meet the contingency of H. M. G. finding it necessary in the case of the Punjab to transfer responsibility to a provincial administration, it is only fair that all political parties in the province should have a chance of evolving between them an administration which should be ready to receive sovereign power from H. M. G. as soon as the process of transfer commences.

"If I were now to continue to lead a coalition in which the Muslim League is not represented, this might put in serious jeopardy such chances as might otherwise exist of a settlement being arrived at between the communities in the province. In conformity with the policy to which I have throughout adhered, the responsibility for dealing with this problem on behalf of the Muslims must continue to vest in the Muslim majority party.

"H. M. G.'s announcement has made it imperative that parties in the province must be brought face to face with stark realities and must come to grips directly with the problems that confront the country. It is now incumbent on me to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to such arrangement vis-a-vis the other parties as it might consider best in the interests of the Muslims and the province "

The causes of these horrible, unprecedented, widespread, devastating politico-religious-communal disturbances, affecting vast humanity of the unfortunate land of the Punjab, and likely to affect the whole of India are not far to seek. God forbid this hellish fire should spread further and bring more misery in its wake. The root cause of the Punjab riots is the British rule itself, which, while it was extant, was establishing institutions that sowed seeds of disrupting social, cultural, and political life of the country. These institutions were not at all wanted.

The British Government in India openly launched on a policy of dividing, demoralising and perpetuating its rule. And when the British rule disappeared, it left behind it anarchy and civil strife. The idea underlying all this was potent mischief i.e. to leave India disunited, so that it may not become a strong nation and, hence, should always remain tied to the apron-string of Britain.

Thus goes the story. By the eighties of the last century Britain had firmly gripped the entire country and even spread tentacles on its border countries of China, Persia, Afghanistan etc. At that time came into existence in the country the Indian National Congress with its objective of freedom from foreign yoke. In response to this demand, the British Government felt the necessity of altering the nature of the Legislative Councils, Provincial and Central, established under the Act of 1861. According to the new Act of the British Parliament passed in 1892, called the Indian Councils Act, the British Government accepted the semblance of

the principle of popular representation - not election but nomination - qualified by the requirement that before nomination a person must be selected by important public bodies such as municipalities, district boards, universities, the association of merchants, etc. Here the principle of separate representation for Muslims was for the first time introduced into the political constitution of India. This principle was not in the Act but was surreptitiously introduced by directions issued to those charged with the duty of framing regulations as to the classes and interests to whom representation was to be given that the Muslims were named as a class to be provided for. The strangest part of the matter is that this principle of separate representation for Muslims was introduced without the Muslim demand and seems to have been introduced with a view to separating them from the Hindus. The Muslims readily accepted this gift to them. Having accepted that they went a step ahead, realising the inclination of the British Government. They took a deputation under Sir Agha Khan to the Viceroy, Lord Minto, demanding from the Government communal representation in accordance with their numerical strength, social position, and local influence on district and municipal boards, on the governing bodies of universities, on provincial councils and on the Imperial Legislative Council.

The demands were granted and given effect to in the Act of 1909 whereby the Mohammadans were given the right to elect their representatives by separate

electorates and to vote in the general electorates and the right to weightage in representation.

The provisions of the Act were applied to all provinces except Punjab and C.P., in the former because such special protection was unnecessary and in the latter because it had no Legislative Council at the time.

In Oct. 1916, 19 members of the Imperial Legislative Council represented to the Viceroy (Lord Chelmsford) a memorandum demanding a reform of the constitution. Immediately the Muslims came forward with demands of extension of the principle of separate representation, fixing the numerical strength of their representation in the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils and safeguards against legislation affecting Muslims, their religion and religious usages.

The negotiations following upon these demands resulted in agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims known as the Lucknow Pact. The Pact provided (1) No Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official affecting one or other community shall be proceeded with if three fourths of the members of that community in the particular council oppose the Bill or clause or resolution. (2) One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mohammadans, elected by separate electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as might be, in which they were represented on the provincial legislative councils by separate Mohammadan electorates.

Both the clauses of the Lucknow Pact were accepted

by the Government and embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919.

At the time of the Simon Commission the Muslims presented fresh demands such as representation in proportion to population of Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal, one-third representation to Muslims in all the cabinets of provinces and Centre, adequate representation to Muslims in the services, separation of Sind from Bombay and raising of N.W.F.P. to the status of self-governing provinces and vesting of residuary powers in the provinces so that the Muslims may have their majority rule in 5 provinces.

But notwithstanding the opposition of Hindus and Sikhs to these demands and their rejection by the Simon Commission, the British Govt. gradually granted the Muslims all their demands old and new. N.W.F.P., in 1932 and Sind in 1936 were constituted as separate provinces. In 1934 the Muslim share in services was fixed at 25 per cent. The right of Muslims in the cabinets was accepted by the British Government and provision made in the Instruments of Instructions issued to Governors and Governor-General. Statutory majority in Punjab and Bengal and even weightage in Muslim minority provinces were also granted to them.

In connection with the statutory majority in the Punjab and Bengal and weightage in Muslim minority provinces it is interesting to note that Sir mohd. Shafi in 1931 made two proposals in the Minorities Sub-Committee

of the R.T.C on different dates (1) weightage for Muslims minority provinces and joint electorates coupled with representation on a population basis in Punjab and Bengal (2) Separate electorates in Punjab, Bengal and weightage in minority provinces. The British Government gave Muslims statutory majority as well as separate electorates in Punjab and Bengal which they had not even asked for along with weightage in minority provinces.

It is thus clear that every time occasion of reforms came in the country the Muslims were ready with new demands. The more the Muslims demanded the more accomodating the British Government became towards them. In some cases the British Government actually gave Muslims more than what they had asked for. Under such circumstances one could well imagine how the wild ambitions of Indian Muslims could be.

Then in the year 1938 Mr. Jinnah made to Pandit Jawahar Lal the demands (1) the restoration of the Shahidganj Mosque, (2) freedom to perform cow-slaughter, (3) stopping of singing of Bande-Matram, (4) Urdu as the national language of India, (5) the Muslim League flag to be given equal importance as the Tri-colour, (6) recognition of the League as the sole representative organisation of the Indian Muslims, and (7) coalition ministries in the provinces. Then in the year 1939 the Muslim League made a demand of 50-50 in everything, services and representation in legislatures. Most of these demands on their very face were absurd and in contradiction

to the Muslim demands already made and conceded.

When the Congress was running the government in the provinces the League leaders under the guidance of Mr Jinnah made all sorts of allegations against it, such as maltreatment of Muslims and interference with their religious observances. They raised the cry of Islam in danger and demanded inquiry into their complaints by a Royal Commission. But as all these allegations were false and foundationless the British Government despite their favouritism towards the League and Muslims could not and did not satisfy them. Mr Jinnah then, when the Congress resigned governance of the provinces in 1939, advised the Leaguers to celebrate the Day of Deliverance. This was extremely unbecoming of this gentleman and his followers.

In the year 1943 when Gandhiji after release from the prison wanted to negotiate with Mr. Jinnah he propounded his two-nation theory saying that Muslims of India are a separate nation and have nothing in common, in social, religious, cultural and ordinary matters, and therefore must have a homeland of their own. Gandhiji made a blunder in negotiating with him. He rather resurrected Mr. Jinnah from his grave and is responsible for the harm done to the country. But, happily, Gandhiji did not accept his two nation theory.

After the war was over, in the year 1945, in the month of June, when Lord Wavell proposed a conference

of leaders of the country, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Mr. Jinnah, realising full well that the British Government and their nominee in India, Lord Wavell, must satisfy him as usual for he was playing for them as well as for himself, made preposterous demands on behalf of the League (1) that all the Muslim members of the Council will be selected from the list given by the League (2) that inspite of the veto remaining with the Viceroy, he should think of some more effective safeguards for the interests of Muslims. The Congress also wanted to nominate a Muslim for the Cabinet. No sattlement could be reached and the conference failed. The Viceroy could not muster courage to say no to the preposterous demands of Mr Jinnah. The slightest hint to him would set matters all right. The Viceroy did not like to go ahead with the most reasonable demands even. There was nothing doing. The Wavell conference gave undue importance to Mr Jinnah.

Soon elections were arranged all over in the country which gave the League still greater importance. The League propogenda became more aggressive and tyrannical. The cry of Islam in danger and 'those who are not with us are the enemies of Islam' became very loud and persistent. The cry caught the imagination of the illiterate, fanatical Muslim masses. The English people everywhere openly helped the League. The result was that the League, almost everywhere, won. It captured 423 seats out of 492 reserved for the Muslim community.

It was able to form ministry only in Sindh and Bengal. These astounding successes and frustations of hope turned the head of the League leadership which became greatly upset.

The League hereafter grew restive and resorted to gangsters method of putting pressure by creating lawlessness, disorders, hooliganism and rioting, everywhere it would.

The British Government then sent to India a Cabinet Mission to explore avenues of settlement between the parties in the country and then to transfer power into Indian hands. The Mission spent three active months in the country and made proposals which sowed seeds of permanent disruptions in the country. But even then the League would not agree.

* * * * *

Thereafter the League leaders and their followers everywhere in the country preached hymns of hate, defiance and hooliganism and would not spare making a fling at any Hindu and Sikh. The topmost leaders of the League were especially active in this matter. The League ministry in Sind put a ban on the publication of even a religious book of Hindus-Satyarath Parkash, as its first deal towards Hindus.

The first man in pouring invective on and giving threats to Hindus was Sir Feroze Khan Noon. He in a meeting of the Muslim League Council on July 27, 1946, said "The Muslims would start a civil war and they would

excel Ghangez Khan and Halaku in their struggle (in committing barbarities)".

Khawaja Nizamuddin in the same meeting exhorted the Muslims "Get ready for a crusade whose intensity would be unimaginable."

Mr. Ghulam Ali Home Minister Sind, said on August 4, 1946. The Muslim League has declared a holy war against the enemies of Muslim Nation, namely the Congress and the British. Any body opposing them in the pursuit of their objective will be destroyed and exterminated. "

Pir Ellahibux, Revenue Minister Sind, said on August 4, 1946. "We will establish pakistan. I warn the Congress men that if you attempt to rule over us by tempering with the loyalty of some Mussalmans your fate will be that of Germans."

Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar said on August 16, 1946 "pakistan can only be achieved through the shedding of blood by ourselves and if need be and opportunity arose by the shedding of blood of others,"

Mr. Abdul Qayyum of peshawar, now the premier, in a statement of August 18, observed " The Congress which denies us the right to our free homeland of pakistan, will soon know that they shall never have any peace in India."

Mr. H M. Gazdar, President Sind Muslim League, said on August 25, 1946, "Their actions could

not be non-violent. The League would extol the activities of such persons (who committed violence) and will release them on coming to office. If any Muslim was touched for any of his activities. Hindus in Muslim majority provinces would have to pay double penalty

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali remarked in a students' meeting on October 19, at Lahore. "There can be no peace and no progress in India without a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan."

Mr Jinnah uttered in a meeting of Muslims at Delhi, "To avoid war we must muster up so much power that others may realise that if they launch a war against Muslims their own losses would be severer and would not benefit the aggressors.

The same gentleman on November 6 remarked, "I know the Muslims are brave but the time has come for them to look to their own house. Is your house in order? Look into and answer for yourselves. What have you done these decades? Where ever I go, I hear the cry Qaide-Azam we are waiting for your order, I tell you the Qaid-Azam is not going to give the order unless he knows you are prepared."

Mr Liaquet Ali. now premier of Pakistan. in a Muslim meeting near about November 5, at Calcutta remarked. '30 crores of Hindus of India should embrace Islam to solve the communal problem."

These are some of the instances. when Sir Shafaat Ahmed joined the Interim Government he was stabbed by a Leaguer at Simla on August 24. In connection with this incident in a meeting of the Lahore corporation Mr. Kalim-ud-din advocate observed "Muslims could not sympathise with him (Shafaat Ahmad) because he was a traitor. CH. Abdul Karim, Honorary Magistrate, remarked, "If Sir Shafaat Ahmad has been attacked it is good. We support the action of those who were responsible for this and if any one has assaulted Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, whom we call a traitor, he has done well. Let me say also if any more occasion arises for doing similar things we will do so."

The League High Command on the formation of Interim Government in the country decided on direct action and advised the Muslims to observe August 16 as Direct Action Day. In Bengal that was under the the League, the Suhrawarthy League Government declared August 16 as a public holiday. Severe disturbances took place in Calcutta and many innocent lives were lost. Mr Jinnah came out with a statement saying, "At present I do not know who is responsible for the resultant loss of life and property. It may be the action of agent provocateurs. I do not believe that any Muslim Leaguer would have taken part in using violence."

During the Noakhali orgy of madness and bestiality (October 19 and 20) when there was organised destruction of Hindu lives and property and abduction of women and conversion on a large scale, all organised by the

Leaguers and League Government, the same gentleman came out with a statement, " I was anxious to get reliable news about the Noakhali disturbances. I feel that there is no foundation for the grossly exaggerated news. I must earnestly appeal to both Hindus and Muslims and other communities to stop this orgy and carnage. It takes two to quarrel and it is up to the leaders of both communities to put an end, in the name of humanity, to what is happening."

When disturbances started in Behar in the first week of November, as a retaliation to what had happened in East Bengal (Noakhali etc.,) whereas Gandhiji threatened to fast unto death in case the disturbances did not stop within 24 hours, and Dr. Rajindara prasad, along with Gandhiji issued moving appeals to Hindus that, if they wanted to kill any Muslim they should first kill them, and the Congress Government of the province sought the help of the military that indiscriminately shot down hundreds of Hindus, wounding a still larger number, and pandit Jawahar Lal, who was then the head of the Interim government, threatened to have aerial bombing of the province, and the disturbances stopped in 4 or 5 days the same gentleman, showed much concern, actually paid a visit to the province, sent his Lieutenants, made the Viceroy also go there and insisted on the postponement of the constituent Assembly and came out with a statement.

"I am naturally very deeply greived to hear the brutal and outrageous happening." (November 3) wrote

to the Viceroy "Now we are faced with the mass, organised and planned ruthless massacres of the Muslims in various parts of Bihar. The foul and gruesome methods adopted under the very nose of the Congress Government, the administration and the police in Bihar, show that the Congress has entirely failed to protect the life and property of innocent people, to say nothing of the small-scale killing and destruction of property that are going on in various other parts of the country. I most earnestly urge upon you to concentrate upon the measures to be adopted and carried out to protect life and property without delay. The entire machinery of the administration of the Government must immediately be concentrated upon establishing peace and tranquility and succour and help those who are homeless, foodless, clothless and in need of medical help and wandering about in Bihar in thousands-the latest reliable estimates so far available are about 30,000 killed and 1,50,000 refugees (highly exaggerated) and further to see by every means how to avoid and prevent a recurrence of human slaughter in future, This is your sacred duty."

This gentleman then went so far as to say, "The exchange of populations will have to be considered seriously as far as possible, especially after this Bihar tragedy."

When communal disturbances were created in Hazara district of N.W.F.P. by the agents of the League and hundreds of Hindus and Sikhs were butchered,

converted and ruined and their womenfolk were abducted and molested, this gentleman, the same leader of the League, enjoyed a sound sleep as if nothing happened what-so-ever that should disturb him

Not only this much the League and their misguided followers went so far as to physically torment even respectable Muslims who were not with them. Maulana Hassan Ahmad Madani, Dr. Sayeed Hussain and Dr. Kitchlew are outstanding examples. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has often been insulted and humiliated by the League organization in session and out of session.

With this as the policy of the British Government to grant to the Muslims of India all the concessions they asked for and give them something more even and hence rouse their wild ambitions and to systematically shield, support and encourage the more rowdy element among them, viz, the Muslim League, that began to talk of and practise violence in the country from the cabinet and the platform with a view to harassing, intimidating and terrorising the other communities, the responsibility for the inevitable Punjab happenings, in the first instance, is that of British rule in India. Emboldened and encouraged in every way, the Muslim League succeeded in arming the fanatical Muslims of India with weapons and invective and creating a permanent split in the country. The distrust and hatred among the Hindus and the Muslims knew no bounds. The whole India

became a powder magazine which burst in the Punjab where the powder was concentrated and where it had immense significance.

CHAPTER II

March Disturbance

The fact of the resignation of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana was put on the air on March 3 at 3 a. m. This was the day when the Punjab Assembly was to sit for the Budget Session. The Lahore people came to know of the resignation even at night, some by telephonic and some by personal message. Everybody who heard it was struck aghast and began to think seriously what would follow next. There was considerable and sudden unrest all over the Punjab especially in Lahore and among the leaders of different communities.

The Governor asked Sir Khizar to continue in office until a new ministry was formed.

The Governor in the morning sent for Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot and asked him if he being the leader of the largest single party, the Muslim League party, could form Ministry in the Punjab. The Khan readily accepted the offer and promised to give a reply very soon, after consulting his colleagues in his party. Thereupon the Governor postponed the Assembly Session meant for Budget considerations. For this order the session of the assembly which was fixed for the day was held in the Assembly Hall exactly as the clock struck 12, the Speaker Diwan Bahadur Singha presiding. The parties occupied their old positions in the House. The

Premier and the two muslim ministers were absent. The Speaker read out the Governor's order adjourning the Assembly Session. The House then agreed to a suggestion made by the Speaker that it would meet on a date to be fixed by him. The meeting lasted only for a few minutes.

Immediately after it a meeting of the Sikh Leaders and Councillors was invited to deliberate over the new situation. A unanimous decision was arrived at and the following resolution was passed at 1—3 p.m.

"We have learnt with great surprise about the resignation of the Ministry tendered by the Premier Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan at a time when the Coalition Party of which he was the Leader enjoyed a clear majority in the house and the party stood solidly behind him."

"The Panthic Party believes that the action taken by the Premier is the consequence of the coercive attitude, open defiance of Law and violent methods employed by the Muslim League for intimidation of the Coalition Ministry."

"The new circumstances created by H. M. G's statement of Feb. 20 appear to have influenced the Premier's decision. While we feel that the Premier was actuated with the best of intentions his decision however is undoubtedly calculated to facilitate installation of the Muslim League into power in the Punjab before transfer of Power from British to Indian hands takes place.

"The members of the Panthic Akli Party declare their firm resolve that they will oppose with all their strength, inside and outside the Assembly, the establishment of a Muslim League Government so long as its objective is Pakistan or Muslim domination in the Punjab, the Homeland of the Sikhs."

Master Tara Singh announced the decision of Sikh Leaders. He said, 'The Sikhs today have with one voice decided to oppose the formation of a Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab, the underlying idea of which is the achievement of Pakistan or the domination of the Punjab which is the Homeland of Sikhs.' He then raised the slogan 'Pakistan Murdabad' which was repeated by the other Sikhs. Then there were shouts of 'Sat Sri Akal.' The party came out into the main entrance of the Assembly building from where they were to disperse. Here they met a hostile crowd of Muslim Leaguers who raised counter slogans and made demonstrations against them employing improper, and indecent epithets. The police intervened and kept the supporters of the parties apart. Meanwhile Mian Iftakharud-Din and Mr Mumtaz Daultana arrived on the spot and prevented a clash. The demonstration caused great excitement inside and outside the Assembly building.

On the 4th, Hindu & Sikh youngmen took out a procession in the morning by way of protest against the unconstitutional act of Malik Khizar Hayat in resigning

without the consent of his colleagues who were solidly with him. This procession was lathi charged and then fired at by the police in the Gol Bagh. soon after it had formed. Even the European D.C. himself was seen firing at the procession with a Brengun.

The youngmen having been so cruelly treated ran up to Lala Bhim Sen Sachar to complain to him against the action of the police while he was in charge of law and order in the province. On enquiry the D.C. is stated to have replied that, section 144 being in force in the city, the police was within its rights not to allow any such processions to be taken out. Lala Bhim Sen Sachar hearing of the mischief done by the police himself came out to lead a similar procession in the evening to give a positive proof that there was no section 144 in the city. He took the procession to the Charing Cross where it dispersed. A small section of the procession passed through Chawk Matti, a Muslim locality. Here a Hindu boy was attacked by Muslim National Guards men and he died. Thereafter stabbing of Hindu and Sikhs started freely and their shops and houses were burnt.

The same evening i.e. March 4, the caretaker Government even resigned as power was not in their hands but the responsibility was theirs. Thereafter the Governor again sent for Mr Mamdot Khan to enquire if he could form a Ministry, Mr Mamdot told the Governor that he would require time to be in a position to command a majority as the negotiations had not yet matured. In

view of the disturbances that had taken place in Lahore and the fear of their repetitions there and else-where, the Governor at once promulgated section 93 in the Province under which all authority reverted to him and his was the responsibility of Governance of the Province.

The curfew was clamped on the city and the situation was saved from further deterioration in the city. The Punjab Govt. throughout the province issued the following ordinance to the press.

"The Governor of the Punjab is pleased to direct that you shall not, for a period of fifteen days, with effect from the date on which this order is served on you, print or publish in any of the issues (including supplements) any statement or report which is not official, any photograph, any correspondence or article concerned or bearing on the communal agitation in the province after the resignation by the Punjab Coalition Ministry, without its previous submission for scrutiny, in duplicate, to the Assistant Provincial Press Adviser, Punjab, Lahore, at his office in the Punjab Civil Secretariat Lahore, between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m.

Sd. 4TH MARCH 1947.

The press Adviser behaved like a zealous worker of the League giving undue liberty to Muslim press but suppressing the Non-Muslim.

Thereafter the League agents dispersed to other cities and towns of the province to carry the flames

of trouble there. Some of them rushed to Amritsar and did unprecedented things at that place. Some of the more frenzied agents of the League and the men of Muslim National Guards went out to the Muslim Majority districts that were far away from the Capital, to assist the Muslims of those places to carry out the plan which the League High Command had drawn up for the destruction of Hindus and Sikhs and seize power into their hands and to acquaint them with what had actually happened and what was likely to, and what under the circumstances was to be their duty. They went to Rawalpindi and Multan, places where the non-Muslims were very few but very well-to-do and were mostly confined to the cities. They misguided the poor Muslim villagers by telling them that the British Government in the Punjab was no more, the Muslim League would soon get the whole power and only the Sikhs were creating trouble in the Punjab and that they should be regarded as their enemies and picked up and finished up, and that to destroy the Hindus and Sikhs must be considered as their Islamic duty. Consequently Rawalpindi, Multan and Campbellpur and their villages, on March 5, were on flames, and innocent Hindu and Sikh men, women and children in thousands were slaughtered. Families after family was butchered; village after village was razed to the ground; Schools, temples and Gurdawaras were ransacked, Blood flowed copiously and human bodies were left to feed dogs and vultures. Rape and ripping of wombs were the order of the day. Wells

were filled with the corpses of beautiful damsels in their anxiety to save their chastity. What happened at Rawalpindi, Multan and Campbellpur and their villages such as Doberan, Bewal, Thamali, Choha, Thoha, Kahuta, and on subsequent days, at other places is described separately.

Along with Rawalpindi, the Murree Hill Station, which is another place having big Kothies, business firms and hotels of Hindus and Sikhs, was on fire and the people there were slaughtered. The situation had not eased there when trouble flared up in Campbellpur and its villages like Pindigheb, Basal, Hazro and Jand. Raiders came from the Frontier and on the way there was a pitched battle with the troops for two hours although only 5 or 6 of the raiders were killed. Here too the supporters and agents of the League behaved in a like way, inflicting agony and death on thousands. The disturbances also spread to Taxila which became the scene of carnage and destruction. It also spread to Nila and Chakwal in the Jhelum District. The mob also attacked the passengers and motor drivers on Srinagar - Murree road killing them, looting their goods, and burning trucks and cars. A number of buildings and culverts were destroyed by the attackers. All traffic on Kashmir's main life line was suspended and Kashmir was cut off from the outside world. Refugees poured into the state in thousands. The situation in Punjab was pretty black.

On March 11 Hindu and Sikh leaders held a joint

meeting at Lahore and formed a council of Action with Master Tara Singh as the Dictator. The Council of Action organised an Anti-Pakistan day, without any meetings and processions but by observing hartals all over the Punjab and taking pledges by minorities reiterating their firm faith in United India. This way was chosen to avoid any further disturbances. On the same day Baba Labh Singh, an eminent Sikh Leader, a former president of Shiromani Akali Dal and eminent Congressman, was stabbed by Muslims at Jullundur while he was going on a mission of peace in a Muslim Mohalla. In the evening S. Baldev Singh, the Defence Member of the Interim Government of India, arrived at Lahore to get first hand knowledge of what transpired at Lahore and other places in the Punjab. He saw the burnt places of Lahore, Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Multan Districts and had hurried consultations with the leaders. He saw huge fires burning and thick columns of smoke rising to the sky and armed mobs collected in thousands for looting and killing people. At the places where the Defence Member halted afflicted persons flocked to him in thousands telling him their woes and requesting and beseeching him to restore to them their near relatives. They showed him their mangled limbs and shaved heads and beards. The Sardar was visibly moved and consoled them and sympathised with them in their woes and for their irreparable losses.

Thereafter the trouble began in the Jhelum district and the villages of Rohtak, Chakwal and Dhudial were

attacked by a mob armed with guns, rifles, hatchets and other sharp weapons. Plundering and massacring was resorted to by the attackers and many lives were destroyed. In the first attack Dudhial successfully fought the armed mob. The raiders were beaten back. But they returned doubly armed and with more dangerous weapons. Severe damage was done to the village and about 70 young girls were snatched away by the raiders. But 60 of them were rescued by an English Military Officer, Major Day.

In these disturbances that happened in different places the police being mostly Muslim helped the mob and directed and did their work. All those who survived in these places had a horrible tale to tell against the police excesses. The Muslim mob could not succeed in their evil designs, as the Hindus and the Sikhs were well protected, but for the police help. It is very sad that the guardians of law and order indulged freely in killing and ravaging their wards.

On his return to Delhi Sardar Baldev Singh submitted a report to the Congress High Command which was much perturbed. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, The Vice President of the Interim Government flew to Lahore on March 13 to visit the riot affected places. He saw Lahore and Amritsar and was much moved by the calamities that had befallen his people. What passed his mind no body could say. What decision he made none could guess. He saw the destruction but did not

utter anything. On his return to Delhi in a brief interview he remarked, More stringent regulations would be needed in the Punjab than employed so far."

Now the Government detailed more troops in Rawalpindi, Campbellpur, Mianwali and Jhelum and Shahpur Districts. To prevent any repercussion of these disturbances in Eastern Punjab where Muslims were Minority, The Government sent troops to the Districts of Hoshiarpur, Jullunder, and Ferozepore. These troops honeycombed the towns and villages and with a strong hand stopped the disturbances. The Governor himself flew to riot affected places like Amritsar, Rawalpindi, Multan and Gurgaon.

The Military extricated Hindus and Sikhs from the villages where their lives were in danger and took them to concentration camps. The part played by the Military everywhere was praiseworthy. It shot the goondas, rounded up the culprits, recovered weapons and looted property and liberated young girls from the hands of decoits and League Agents. The Congress started a relief fund known as the Punjab Relief Fund and appointed a Relief Committee in the Punjab under the guidance of Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava who appointed relief committees all over the Punjab. To this fund the Maharaja Patiala donated Rs. 100,000. A Relief Fund known as the Punjab Riot sufferers Relief Fund was started in the Punjab wherein the Chief Donors were Lala Yodh Raj (Rs. 50,000) Mr. M. R. Kohli (Rs. 10,000) Rai Bahadur Jodha Mall Kuthiala (Rs. 51,00) S. B.

Samprdan Singh Chawla Rs. 5000). Everywhere people contributed liberally towards the help of the refugees. On the Rawalpindi side, where the greatest devastation had been done, the Government started two Relief Camps, one at Wah and the other at Kala and in each of these Camps 50,000 people took shelter. These were chiefly the destitutes, orphans and widows.

On March 17 V.G. Deshpande, General Secretary All India Hindu Mahasabha, came to the Punjab to see the condition of the Province. He was asked by the Government to leave Lahore that very day. On refusal to comply with the orders he was interned at Sir Ganga Ram Hospital while he was visiting the injured there. He was later taken to Delhi and released.

On March 19 The Governor General of India and the Punjab Governor to meet the utter lawlessness in the Northern part of the Province of Punjab enforced the Governor's Act. Under this Act, the Governor issued a special ordinance on March 19 known as the Punjab Disturbed Areas Act, 1947. The act empowered the Punjab Government to declare the whole of the Punjab, or any part of it to be a disturbed area. Under it the attempted murder, kidnapping and abductions and their variants, rape, robbery and dacoity and their variants and arson were punishable with death. Attempts to commit any of those offences and any abetment of them also became punishable with death. The Act conferred power upon Magistrates and Police Officers not below the rank of Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police to fir

upon or otherwise use force even to the causing of death against any person who acted in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force in a disturbed area. Prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or the carrying of weapons or of things capable of being used as weapons.

All the districts of Rawa'pindi Division, Multan District, the City and contonment of Lahore, the Municipality and Cantonment of Amritsar, Sialkot and Jullundur, and the Municipalities of Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur were declared as disturbed areas. At the same time the Government warned the Government pensioners, the titl· holders, the Government servants and village Jagirdars and other headmen that strict action would be taken against them in case they failed in their duty or helped in spreading disturbances. The warning had a good effect.

After this, everywhere, the conditions were reported as improving. But in most of the affected villages Hindus and Sikhs had been slain or they had left and the members of only one community had come to live. If it was quiet there it was the quiet of the graveyard or of the cremation ground. The communal relations were becoming much strained and Hindus and Muslims were drifting further apart.

On march 20 the Punjab Governor issued an ordinance as the Pu'jab Public Safety Act 1917, which including the provision of the already existing provisions of the

ordinance of 1946, gave to the Provincial Government powers to require the newspapers to publish any matter it thought fit and to impose collective fines, and assess for payment of compensation for injury or damage caused during disturbances.

Now in places where Muslims were in minority or were weak they formed peace committees and were very clever in this. Hindus and Sikhs who were almost all of them Congressites and regarded Muslims as their brethren and would not spoil for a conflict, easily agreed to it and were deceived. Whenever Muslims found any opportunity, every now and then they flouted the peace committee relationship and harmed Hindus and Sikhs. This frequently happened in the Eastern Punjab.

The Western Punjab tragedy became well known all over the entire country and every one resented the villanous machinations of the League High Command and the League following which discredited every Muslim in India, so much so, that, in Bihar Hindus thought of organising the Punjab Day. But when Gandhiji heard of it he strongly condemned it saying, "If such a misfortune takes place in Bihar I would want to perish in flames. My incessant prayer to God is that He will not keep me alive to witness such an awful and disgraceful scene."

On March 24 Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India was replaced by Lord Mount-Batten who was only 46 years of age and had served during the war as

the incharge of the South East Asia Command. He is a militarist as well as a politician. He was described as the right man for the right job- fulfilment of India's destiny. He is a man of rare charm, wide sympathies, and democratic convictions, a man who believed in the high destiny of India as a nation. He was described as a willing partner in the policy of quitting India in the last year and not merely a servant of the Crown to carry out the policy laid down by the cabinet. He is a man of wide experience of dealing with resurgent nationalism in the East in Malaya, Burma, Singapore, Siam, Java and Sumatra as the Supreme allied Commandar in South East Asia, when Lord Mount Batten arrived in Delhi he was greeted with a salute of 31 guns from the Air Port. He was received by high Military and Naval officials and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Field Marshal Auchinleck, M.G.V. Mavalanker, president of the Central Assembly, Mr. Hussain Imam, President of Council of State and Sir Terence Shone, U. K. High Commissioner. He was dressed in a white Naval uniform. He was accompanied by Lady Mount Batten. On entering the main gates of the Viceroys' house he was received by Lord Wavel and Lady wavel.

Lord Wavel left Delhi on March 24 after ruling India for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years as its Viceroy. He took charge of the country during the war and left it in a state of War. He

was a military man and should have been asked to go when the war was over.

During these $3\frac{1}{2}$ years he was asked to play the role of an eminent politician and statesman. He erred grievously. If we believed he was honest he was not very intelligent and if we say he was intelligent he was not honest and sincere. Both the qualities of honesty and intelligence cannot be considered to be present in him unless he possesses a third also viz, to be a yes man of his Employers. In that case he was not fit for such a great responsibility to be a Governor-General of India, especially when her future was to be recast. In his failure he admitted his mistakes, but this could not improve the state of affairs. The failure of the Simla Conference and weakening of the Interim Government and the consequent split in it are the most unhappy features of his time. He will be long remembered by India as a misfit politician and statesman. While departing he gave a broadcast saying among other things, "I am conscious of my mistakes. You have hard, dangerous, and difficult years ahead," realizing fully well which way he had directed the wind to blow in the country.

What happened in the North of the Punjab and in the Districts where the Muslims were in over-whelming majority had not yet satisfied the Muslim League fuhrer, Mr. Jinnah. He uttered not a word of sorrow

or sympathy or regret for the butchery and bestiality committed by his coreligionists. Rather he felt it was not enough. He asked his followers to organise, all over the country, Pakistan day on March 24, obviously to accelerate the pace of events and add further to the agony of Hindus and Sikhs in these riot affected areas. He stated, The present conditions in India are far from peaceful and everywhere there is terrific tension and unrest. "We must therefore observe the day strictly in a peaceful manner and in complete co-operation with the authorities....." By this statement he expected of and requested the authorities, which means the Muslim biased Government and the Muslim predominated police to help his followers in the execution of their plans and in tyrannising over Hindus and Sikhs. The Situation by now improved almost everywhere in Western Punjab as the result of the help of the military. Many of the miscreants were either killed or rounded up.

Many policemen who had shirked their duty and by siding with the Muslim mob had stained their hands with the blood of innocent Hindus and Sikhs were shot down by the military or arrested.

Large number of lives had been lost. Master Tara Singh's estimate was 4000 as the minimum. The Government estimate was 2049 killed (511 in cities and towns and 1538 in rural areas) and 1103 injured (944 in cities and towns and 159 in rural areas), excluding the figures from

Rawalpindi and Attock districts. In these two districts the Government communique said that the number of casualties would be formidable. The violence was most widespread and prolonged. None of the Muslim League leaders, including Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaqat Ali condemned this mad orgy of violence and bloodshed, burning and looting. This was a significant fact. Some of them did tour some areas of the province but the report is that they went there to see that the things had happened there according to their advice and plan. From the accounts of different places it is clear that the plan was to kill Hindus and Sikhs, especially the Sikhs, and their children. Many young girls were separated and abducted. The more elderly women were raped and slaughtered. The abducted girls were distributed among their needy, they were proselytised and forcibly married with due ceremonies. Those who resisted were at once done to death.

In most of the cases a large number of Muslims gathered and beat the drum for an attack. Non-Muslims as soon as they heard the sound collected and conferred. A few Muslim headmen joined and went to the Hindu and Sikh leaders of the villages and promised to them that they would get the calamity averted if they were paid some money which was several thousand rupees. On receiving the payment the raiders went away but swarmed again next day and started firing at random. There was firing from the side of Hindus and Sikhs also. The very Muslim leaders went again to the leaders

of Hindus and Sikhs and declared to them their helplessness but promised to be of help to them only if the Hindus and Sikhs surrendered their arms to them. At first it was not possible but later on they did surrender their arms. But no sooner had it been done by Hindus and Sikhs, the Muslim mob along with the very Muslim leaders pounced upon them, burnt their houses and killed them. Hindus and Sikhs were now helter-skelter and ran for safety. Many of them killed their women folk and children so that they may not be brutally treated. Some of them fell into the hands of the enemies who promised to save them if they embraced Islam, consented to give their daughters to Muslim youngmen and marry their sons to Muslim girls. They even were not spared. Some of them were promised safety if they divorced their wives and married them to Muslims, as the surest sign of embracing Islam. At many places young girls were taken hold of, their clothes were forcibly removed, they were given the League flags in one hand, while with the other they tried to hide their shame, and with the beat of drums were exhibited to the Muslim crowds as despicable Kafir women. Such brutality? Heaven did not fall. At many places pregnant women were raped by a number of brutes till they swooned and began to bleed. It is really impossible to imagine, how a man who carries the sword and the fire can at once be excited to lust on helpless women but even then these brutes did. Then these pregnant women's wombs

were torn open lest they should give birth to enemies. What an unimaginable and unthinkable brutality !

In these disturbances villagers attacked villagers and neighbours attacked neighbours. Even domestic servants who had long since been in the service of their masters rose one fine morning to stab them and the members of their families, to loot them and to burn their houses and to decamp with the satisfaction of having worked for Islam and Pakistan. Villainy knows no end.

Surely such is not the teaching of Islam. Those who did not condemn it were doing disservice to Islam. Mr. Jinnah and his Lieutenants never condemned it. Rather they must have gloated over all this.

The League Hooliganism now began to find its way towards the Punjab, where Muslims were in minority, flushed with their success in Western Punjab, where Muslims were in majority. It also began to find its way towards N.W.F.P. where the Congress Ministry was supreme. Consequently on March 23 trouble broke out in Kartarpur in Jullundur District, where four Hindus and Sikhs were killed, in Gurgaon where 6 Hindus were stabbed and 2 burnt alive.

In N.W.F.P. the trouble spread in the villages of Hazara District. Forty seven Hindus and Sikhs were kidnapped from the village Chajjian and from other villages and 35 were killed when it was raided by the

Muslim mob. The trouble also spread to Mansehra and Shinkiani and Mardan. In Mansehra the main bazar was set fire to and about 100 shops of Hindus and Sikhs were burnt, including two places of worship. 5 Hindus were killed.

In N.W.F.P. trouble was raised by the Muslim Leaguers and the British officers but the Congress Government did everything it could to check it.

In the Kangra district a small Gujjar Village Qasain was burnt by Muslims themselves after vacating it with a view to creating trouble there. In Hoshiarpur Dr. Shadi Lal, Congress Worker and Vice-President Hoshiarpur Peace Committee, was stabbed. Three more stabbing cases occurred there.

This was almost the end of March. The city of Multan was fined Rs. ten lakhs to be borne equally by Muslims and non-Muslims. In Rawalpindi district Muslims were fined rupees thirty lakhs. In village Thata, district Campbellpur, they were fined Rs. 25,000 and in Jand in the same district Rs. 54,050. But none of these fines were realised and nothing was paid to the sufferers. Several culprits were rounded up after hard labour by the C.I.D. They were lodged in jails but all of them, without any exception, were released.

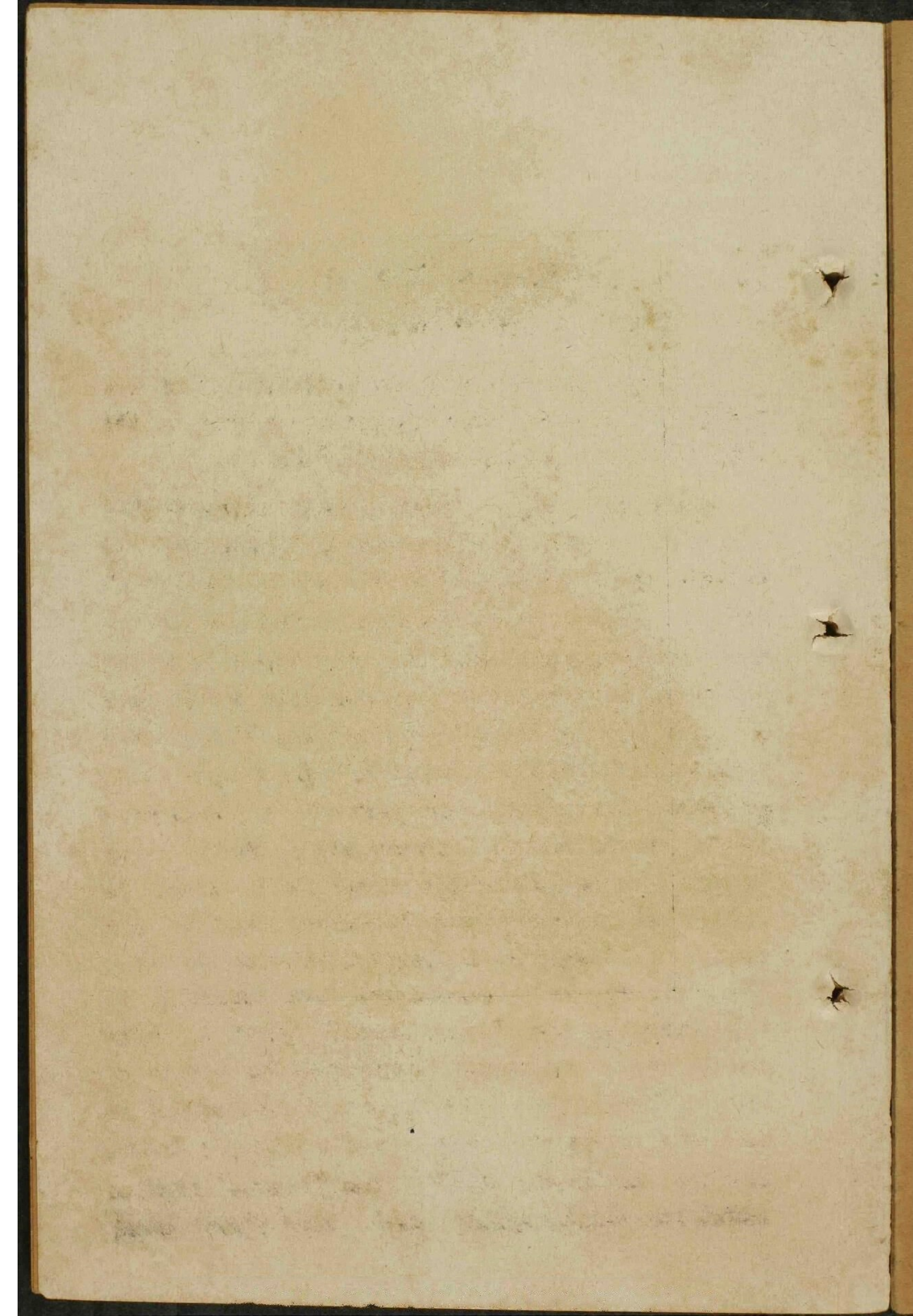
Many Hindu-Sikh refugees from affected places ran to take shelter in Patiala, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Jammu and Mandi States. Refugees numbering 35000 went to

Patiala whom the Maharaja regarded as his own subjects and offered them land and services and gave housing accommodation. The Kapurthala State, offered 1500 bighas of land to refugees. Refugees numbering 2382 from Hazara district went to Kashmir State. Many refugees went to Dehra Dun, Mussooree, Delhi and Dharamsala. Some of them did go back to their places but others had bade good-bye for good.

A very regrettable thing was that Mahatma Gandhiji, the father of the Modern Indian Nation, did not choose to visit the Punjab and apply a healing balm. This was felt much. Khan Abdul Ghuffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi, even did not pay any visit. The deep wounds and the lacerated hearts were left to care for themselves. As to why these great leaders and angels were not moved is known only to themselves. The bleeding Punja ! the moaning Punjab ! the unfortunte land of Five Rivers!



The Hindus and Sikhs of Lahore deserting
their demolished houses.



CHAPTER III

April to July

With the beginning of the month of April there was visible the beginning of a change of policies by the Muslim League the Congress and the Sikhs.

The Muslim League leaders having become flushed with their victory in overwhelming Muslim majority districts began to think of other districts of the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. They now began to realise which way they would be resisted and how they should meet the resistance. It dawned upon them that they would have to encounter the strength of the Sikhs and if they could successfully do that the whole of the Punjab would be theirs. Consequently they began with a two-pronged policy towards Sikhs. Generally every Muslim began to regard every Sikh as his enemy No. 1 whom he should kill wherever and howsoever possible but officially the League leaders began to palacate the Sikhs. This in reality was to deceive the Sikh leadership. In this connection the League leaders began to issue strongly worded statements. When stabbing was to be done by Muslims their first target was a Sikh and if he escaped a Hindu was made a victim. In the trains, in buses and in the Muslim press Muslims breathed poison and enmity against Sikhs. They would openly

and freely say that they had finished most of the Sikhs and the remaining would soon be finished: at least they could not rise and could not hit back; as a community or a nation the Sikhs were no more. This was in the mouth of every Muslim, man or woman, and in the columns of every Muslim paper, day in and day out. Every Muslim tried to hound a Sikh and make his life very miserable and unsafe. The League leaders began to sing a different tune. Mr. Jinnah speaking about the division of the Punjab and the Sikhs said in an interview to Mr. Doon Campell on May 21: "If the Punjab is partitioned Sikhs will be the greatest sufferers. The Muslims under contemplated Western Punjab will no doubt be hit, but it certainly will deal the greatest blow to those, particularly the Sikhs, for whose benefit this new stunt has been started." Accordingly Mr. Dawlatana, General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League said, "Division of the Punjab is injurious alike to the best interests of the Province and of all the communities involved, particularly the Sikhs." Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan said on April 2, "We assure the Sikhs that under a Muslim League Coalition Government in the Punjab the legitimate rights of the Sikhs will be fully considered and justice will be meted out to all, freely and equally. We shall be very glad if our Sikh friends could guide us as to how we could convince them of our good intentions."

The Sikhs saw through the game played by League leadership and Muslim masses and became a little more

circumspect. They saw that they could in no case cooperate with the League. They found division of the Punjab was the only solution of the deadlock, and were determined on that. At the same time they foresaw impending huge conflict with the League and the League guided masses and slowly and steadily began to prepare for it. All Sikh parties began to cooperate against a common foe as if in a life and death struggle.

The Congress that had hitherto stood for united India, on the advice of the Sikhs, and the insistence of the League, and the wishes of the British Government began to consent on the division of the Country provided the Punjab, was suitably divided. The next phase of disturbances, consequently, was influenced by the congress cum Sikh Party on one side and the British-cum-League on the other. But the things in every way were tending towards the final phase more decisive, more catastrophic and far-reaching in results.

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To take up the narrative, on March 31 trouble again started in Multan City. One hundred and thirty one Hindus and Sikhs were killed and one hundred and forty two persons sustained serious injuries. Seven hundred houses, including 23 temples and gurdawaras were gutted or damaged by fire. In rural areas, 50 persons were killed and 48 seriously injured. Thirty burnt corpses were recovered from the debris. Ninety two persons

were arrested while 601 were rounded up in rural areas under the Safety Ordinances. One hundred and thirty two persons were arrested for alleged defiance of order under rule 188.

On April 2, heavy disturbances took place in Gurgaon district along the Mewat border. Here members of both communities attacked each other's villages. In two villages, 26 persons were killed and 15 injured. Two other villages, one of them in Alwar State, were burnt although there were no casualties. A serious fire broke out at Rewari with some loss of life. Here 100 huts were destroyed.

In Peshawar eight Hindus and Sikhs including four women were killed and about 20 wounded. One woman was kidnapped near Kohat. The trouble arose over the taking of the procession by the Muslim league in the afternoon. The procession was dispersed by tear-gas near the Martyrs Memorial in Kisa Khani Bazar. But it was reorganised when it reached Kabuli gate. Near Rewari around Dhambera 15 villages were burnt down and looted, several lives were lost. There was complete lawlessness prevailing in the area. In Kangra district in village Nadaun two Hindu houses were burnt.

To fight Pakistan the Sikh leaders decided to collect some money by issuing an appeal to the community. Eighteen leaders including Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Sardar Baldev Singh and Sardar Udham Singh Nagoke, on April 3 stated; "The Sikhs have already got a foretaste of Pakistan in the form of

cataclysm that overtook some parts of the Punjab and the N. W. F. P. Pakistan is a death blow to the Sikhs and to fight this menace you have to marshal all your resources. We appeal to the Sikh Panth to contribute to Rs. 50 lakh fund for this purpose by giving at least Re. 1/—per head. The share of those Sikhs who are unable to contribute should be given by the more affluent". The Sikh leaders decided upon the division of the Punjab into two Provinces as the only solution to the problems of the province. The Congress Party, the depressed class party and the Christians' party in the Legislative Assembly all agreed with them. The leaders of the major minorities parties issued a joint statement on April 12. "We have given our most anxious consideration to the recent deterioration in the political Communal situation in the Punjab. Open propagation of coercive methods and adoption of unconstitutional means by the Muslim League to capture power has resulted in the creation of a very unhappy situation in the province. Some thousands of innocent persons have been killed and a still large number have become homeless, property worth crores of rupees has been destroyed. The social, economic, and political life of the province has generally been paralysed. Non-League section of the Punjab populace, particularly the minorities, have no confidence in the Muslim League and are not prepared to tolerate communal domination in any shape or form. In our opinion the only way to end the present tragic stalemate and to restore confidence amongst the

minorities and to save the province from further devastation and destruction is to divide the Punjab in such a way that the maximum number of Hindus, Sikhs, Harijans, Christians and other non-League section of the Punjabees should feel secure. Under the circumstances therefore, we support whole-heartedly the proposal for the partition of the Punjab and as a first step in that direction demand the immediate setting up of two ministries in the province."

On April 14, near Peshawar, in the village of Sarbulandpur a number of Sikh villages were shot dead by a Muslim mob. League women interfered with the running of trains. Many of them squatted on the railway track to stop the Down Bombay Express but the train could not be stopped and four of them received injuries. In Kohat a bomb was thrown on the house of Lala Dula Ram injuring his chaukidar. In Tonk telegraph lines were cut. In Mardan batches of volunteers entered the court of the Deputy Commissioner and raised League slogans. In Dera Ismail Khan extensive damage was done to the telegraph lines.

On the 15th the whole of Dera Ismail Khan was on fire. A procession started from the office of the Muslim League and divided itself into two different parties, one party went towards the courts and post office and caused damage to the building and the other party went in the city and set fire to shops and residential houses in different parts of the town. In the village

parao near Dera Ismail Khan, 54 shops were burnt. The loss of life by killing and burning alive and kidnapping was huge. These fires were visible from long distances.

Although so much violence was spread by the League yet the League called the movement peaceful and non-violent. Even the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, felt it. He called Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah and made them issue a written appeal to the people of India. The appeal was issued on April 15 and said :

"We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims.

"We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder but also to avoid both in speech and writing any incitement to such acts."

Precisely speaking an appeal of this nature should have been signed by Mr. Jinnah only who was responsible for all the bloodshed in the country. But the Viceroy wished to saddle Gandhiji even with the responsibility and he readily agreed. Let us think the Viceroy was sincere in his move.

But the episode of the appeal is so sad. It was the Viceroy's suggestion that the topmost leaders of the country such as Gandhiji and Mr Jinnah should issue a joint appeal to the people of India. The Mahatma readily agreed to it. But at the same time he made it clear to the Viceroy that he could sign the document only in his personal capacity as he had no official status in the Congress. He at the same time suggested that if the appeal had to have the backing of the great national organisation, its president, Acharya Kripalani must append his signature. The Viceroy then asked the Acharya who agreed. When it came to Mr. Jinnah he refused to sign if any one besides Gandhiji signed the appeal. It was reported that Mr Jinnah said that Gandhiji represented the Hindus and he represented the Muslims. At the same time he wanted to be bracketed with Gandhiji and not with Acharya Kriplani. The Viceroy did not force him. Eventually the Acharya was requested not to mind if the appeal was issued only in the names of Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah.

The Dawn the League organ, commenting on the joint appeal said that Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah signed as leaders of the Hindu and the Muslim nations respectively.

This great appeal was broadcast from all radio stations, was given first importance in all papers and was translated and published in different languages.

on huge posters and hand bills and distributed in trains and buses, and posted on walls and trees in bazaars and streets of all cities, towns and villages, especially of the disturbed areas of different provinces of the country.

But despite this appeal disturbances and lawlessness continued to be created by League leaders and followers wherever they could. Serious disturbances now took place in Bannu and many Hindu and Sikh lives were lost and property looted. Dera Ismail Khan's condition became worse. There were numerous cases of arson, loot, killing, kidnapping and conversion. Tonk continued to burn. The lawlessness was so great and pathetic that even the Ahrars, another organisation of Muslims, had to condemn it. The General Council of the Frontier Majlis-Ahrar, at a 3-hour sitting, adopted resolutions condemning unequivocally the hooliganism and goondaism prevailing in the Frontier province. The Council expressed the view that the aim of the present movement was to strengthen British influence and declared its determination to resist these "foul schemes" with all the resources at its command. The Council also adopted another resolution appealing to the Frontier Muslims to remain peaceful and holding that the women's public demonstrations were unislamic and against Shariat laws.

The Frontier disturbances were all due to the evil designs of the League supported by some of the higher

officers of the British Government, such as the Ola Caroe, the N.W.F.P Governor and the political agent of the Transborder region. Dr. Khan Sahib and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan protested against the attitude of the Governor and his officers but to no purpose. The matter was referred to Lord Mountbatten by the Central Government and Gandhiji himself but he preferred to wait and see.

The League hooliganism in N.W.F.P. was condemned in London in a big leaflet headlined "Date with Fate" written by Chowdhri Akbar Khan on behalf of the National Muslim Committee, London. He said, "There has seldom been an instance in the records of nations of a section of a community losing all reason, sense and humaneness as that of the Muslim League's yielding to madness. This neo-Fascism of the League, as manifested during the last election and again in the Punjab and Bengal must ruthlessly be suppressed."

Mr Ali Zaheer said on April 22: "The events that are taking place in the Frontier are by no means communal, but are a tussle between the Jinnah dominated League on one hand and the Congress on the other. The bloodshed that is prevailing in the different parts of India can stop in a minute if Mr. Jinnah is sincere about it."

Lord Mountbatten now decided to visit N. W. F. P. before taking any action. Mr Jinnah now advised his followers there to keep peace lest the scene should give an adverse impression to Lord Mountbatten,

Lord Mountbatten along with Lady Mountbatten visited Peshawar on April 28. Elaborate precautions were made for his reception. Muslim Leaguers and other interested people, all dressed in green, from the Punjab and adjoining places, collected there in large numbers. They did not hold any demonstration but collected at the Cunningham Park. Red-Shirts were conspicuously absent according to the advice of the Frontier Gandhi. The Viceroy standing at the Railway Bridge for 10 minutes had a view of the crowd which shouted League slogans.

After leaving Peshawar the Viceroy and the Vicerine the same evening, visited Kahuta, a tehsil town in Rawalpindi district, which had been completely burnt in March last. Thereafter the Viceroy returned to Delhi but the Vicerine visited Amritsar. Here she saw the riot affected areas. In the Hospital she met a 13 year old Hindu boy who in March rioting lost his hands. The boy was discharged after treatment but continued to visit the hospital every morning asking for new hands. He repeated his request to Her Excellency. She was informed that arrangements were being made to secure him artificial hands. When Her Excellency gave this news to the boy he said, "Thank you very much." After this she visited Multan, Wah and Dera Ismail Khan. At these places Her Excellency paid a visit to the riot affected places, listened to the horrifying accounts of the tales of the miserable creatures and was much saddened. She

felt for them and uttered to them words of sympathy. Her concern for her sex was noteworthy.

The Punjab and N.W.F.P. were now comparatively quiet. Extensive searches and court actions started all over the province. But trouble started once again in Lahore and a large number of shops were burnt. Several shops were gutted inside Delhi Gate, in Kucha Wan Wattan, inside Delhi Gate in Akbari Mandi, in Chuna Mandi, in Mohalla Col. Chet Singh and in Chohatta Vaste Bhagat where chiefly Hindus and Sikhs sustained huge losses. An attack was made by Hindus on Rajgarh locality where chiefly Muslims were losers. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh both visited Lahore to see things for them. The famous jor mela at Lahore was banned and 125 men were rounded up there from different localities. On the night of May 24 an armed mob attacked the village of Rasulpura with handgrenades and rifles and killed 6 men and injured a dozen.

ON May 29 disturbances took place in the Gurgaon district in the strip of territory between Gurgaon and the village Nuh where 20 villages were burnt. In some villages mobs armed with spears, lathis and improvised guns and mortars mustered at dusk, some to defend their homes and hearths from molestation and others with aggressive intentions. Repulsed attackers broke into a neighbouring village and burnt it to the ground. Villages were burnt by rival groups of villagers rendering

homeless hundreds of men, women and children, who fled from their homes screaming across the fields, family after family, in long columns, and sought refuge in neighbouring villages, less prone to be troublesome.

Let us now go to the political developments that had been taking place in the country since the arrival of Lord Mountbatten. At the time of the swearing in ceremony Lord Mountbatten declared. "A solution of the complicated question prior to the transfer of power must be reached within the next few months." Soon after assumption of charge on March 24 Lord Mountbatten contacted the Congress and the League Leaders of the country. Two invitations simultaneously were sent, one to Gandhiji and the other to Mr. Jinnah. He invited the Governors of all provinces and the Governor-Designate of Assam for a conference. Gandhiji met the Viceroy on March 31. There was a preliminary, friendly talk for 75 minutes. Gandhiji met the Viceroy again on April 1 for two hours, then again on April 4. Mr Jinnah met the Viceroy on April 5. Gandhiji once again interviewed the Viceroy. The Viceroy then requested both the leaders to denounce violence by a written appeal to which they agreed. The Governor of the Province then met the Viceroy on April 15, the conference lasting for two hours and a half. This conference probably was to sound the provincial chiefs on transfer of power and the possible reactions of their provinces. Mr. Jinnah met the Viceroy again on April 23 and it was understood he was

asked by the Viceroy to accept the Union Centre Scheme but he would not. In this way Mr Jinnah had by 2nd May nine interviews with the Viceroy and he was told that in case he could not join the Union Centre he would have to consent the division of Punjab and Bengal. Gandhiji even had a number of interviews after this with the Viceroy. The 5th May then was the final date given to Mr Jinnah to accept or reject the Congress offer of truncated Pakistan, partition of Bengal and Punjab. During this interval Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Acharya Kriplani, Sardar Patel, Master Tara Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh even had a number of interviews with the Viceroy. On May 5 Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah both met the Viceroy together. Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan was also present.

Well posted with all requisite information and the desire of the important political leaders and parties in the country the Viceroy on May 2 sent Lord Ismay the chief of his staff, to London to acquaint the British Government with the talks that the Viceroy had with the Political Leaders in the country. Thereafter the Viceroy himself flew to England on May 17. Mr Jinnah and congress leaders met him just before leaving. Immediately after arrival the Viceroy had consultations with the full cabinet of British Government. Mr Jinnah on May 21 in an interview with Doon Campbell, Reutre's correspondent raised the demand of a corridor between the Eastern

and Western parts of Pakistan. The Congress called this demand as absurd and demanded division of Punjab and Bengal as a necessary corollary to the division of India and also complete division of army to leave no cause of contention hereafter. In this connection Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel submitted a memorandum to the Viceroy. The Viceroy then left India on May 29. Gandhiji raised his voice against the division of India and insisted on an agreed solution between the parties. He was prepared to hand over the whole country to Muslims with Mr Jinnah as the premier. The Viceroy reached India back on May 31. The Congress working Committee met on May 31 in the presence of Gandhiji to discuss what to do next. The Viceroy then invited 7 leaders 3 Congress leaders namely Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Shri J.B. Kripalani, 3 League leaders namely Mr Jinnah Liaquat Ali Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar and 1 Sikh leader namely S. Baldev Singh to a conference on Jan 2 to acquaint them with what the British Govt. had agreed to regarding India in connection with transfer of power. This historic conference met at 10 a.m. and lasted two hours. The Viceroy gave the meeting a full account of his discussion both in India and in England which had led upto the formulation of His Majesty's Government's plan and of the arguments which had resulted in its adoption. Copies of the announcement

were then handed over to the leaders. After the conference Mr Jinnah remained for a brief interview with the Viceroy. At 12.30 p.m. the Viceroy had an interview with Gandhiji until 1.15 p.m. At 10 a.m. on June 3 the Viceroy held a press conference in the Council House. The momentous plan was broadcast by the Viceroy on June 3, at 7 p.m.

The three leaders Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, S. Baldev Singh and Mr Jinnah formally accepted the plan.

According to the plan the British Government was to quit India on August 15, 1947, and two dominions. Dominion of India and Dominion of Pakistan, were to come into existence. The constitution of these dominions would be framed by their own Constituent Assemblies.

The Provinces of Punjab and Bengal were to be partitioned through a Boundary Commission and referendum was to be taken in N.W.F.P. and Sylhet. The division of armed forces and national assets were to follow soon with Lord Mountbatten as the chairman of the Partition Commission. The June 3 plan decided the fate of India.

This scheme of division of India has been accepted by all parties in the country and has been willingly conceded by the British Government. Merely judging from this point, leaving aside all other consideration, the

scheme seems just and fair to all parties in the country. But the Congress accepted it as there was no way for it. It got as much as could be given to it by the Government and agreed to by the League. The Congress laboured hard for a free, united India, for the Government of the people, by the people and for the people. It never worked for divided India. As for the League this even got much less than what it aspired for. But none of the League leaders made any sacrifice at any time for its masses, Muslims included. Moreover all the Muslims of India were not with the League; the nationalist Muslims, Momins, Ahrars, Jamait-ul-ulmas, Shias and Pathans of N.W.F.P. were against the League and the demand of Pakistan. It is true that the majority of Muslims of India were with the League but had the League not received the support and patronage of the British Government, it could never flourish. The League received the support of the British Government because the British Government wanted to delay freedom to the country, which cause was taken up by the Congress, and it put up the League against the Congress. The League relied on the help of the British Government as it could never do without it. In a word the conditions prevalent in the country were a creation of the British Government. Its fairness or impartiality hence is no value. Rather it is a potent mischief that the British Government has done towards India.

Geographically, socially and economically India was and is indivisible, and this fact has been admitted by the

British people. The plan to divide the one indivisible whole is nothing short of mischief towards the great and ancient land.

Moreover during negotiations Lord Mountbatten never consulted Muslim elements other than Leaguers. Is it not mischief and highhandedness towards India?

The British Government by this scheme has ruined the country. It has divided the Indian humanity into two parties that have been living like brethren in good neighbourliness for years together, and these parties will now continually go on warring with each other. The scheme has done the greatest harm to the Sikh community. This community can never have a soft corner for the British Government. This the British Government did despite all promises for a fair deal towards them. It uprooted the Sikhs and snatched away their homes, hearths, lands, cattle, institutions and Gurdawaras, and the holiest of their holy places Nankana Sahib, the birth place of their founder Guru Nanak.

What followed the scheme and is described in the succeeding pages is a clear proof of the evil effects of this most mischievous scheme that the British Government has given to India. There is no wonder if Pakistan and India go to war and engulf the world into world war No. III. The responsibility for such a calamity will entirely be of the British people and the name of Lord Mountbatten will be associated

with it. Most earnestly we pray this should not happen

After June 3. before each of the two dominions of the country, there were three main tasks, firstly to prepare constitution for the dominion, secondly to prepare memoranda for the Boundary Commission and thirdly to contest referendums of N.W.F.P. and Sylhet.

* * * * *

The League called off the hooliganism movement in the N.W.F.P. in order to contest referendum. Excepting for a few cases of stabbing and arson, here and there, occasionally, there was almost quiet all over the Punjab and N.W.F.P. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims became interested in the Boundary Commission award and preparations for it began in full swing. But it was all a lull before the storm.

Towards the middle of June Gurgaon was seriously disturbed. A mob of 200 armed men raided the village Tika. There were about 800 houses in the village and almost all of them were destroyed. The village streets became littered with corpses. Sixty persons died as a result of gunshot and over 200 received injuries. Another village Rawalpore near Palwal was also attacked on the same day and about 80 houses were burnt. The situation deteriorated in Lahore on June 21. Huge columns of smoke rose from burning houses and these continued to increase. These fires were lighted in Mochi Gate, Lohari

Mandi and Bhati Gate areas and Mozang. Mostly Hindus & Sikhs sustained losses. A bomb then exploded in Sabzi Mandi which caused injuries to a number of persons. Soon after stabbing started in the same locality and the police began firing. As a result of these disturbances in Lahore 13 persons were killed and 5 injured. A large number of houses and shops were destroyed. On June 22 at 2 a.m. in the night, the situation further deteriorated in the city. Houses and shops from the Shahalmi Gate on to the entrance of Pari Mahal and Kucha Hainagaran, which was the centre of Satta Mandi, and Papar Mandi, beginning from the Shahalmi Gate on to the well known house of Lachhi Shah (R. B. Lachhman Dass), and the house of the late R. B. Sunder Das, who was for many years Vice-Chairman of the Lahore Municipality, were almost reduced to ashes. Those who had lakhs and were living a life of luxury in big buildings over night became paupers, living in a state of terrible misery. A large number of arrests also took place there. The man in the street and the editor in a paper began to demand the enforcement of martial law in Lahore. Even the Congress High Command in Delhi pressed for it but the Governor would not listen. He would like to keep power in his own hands and guide the destiny of the Punjab till the last moment, come what may. The incident of June 22 demanded immediate enquiry by the Government but there was nothing doing. The heinous act of Mr. G Cheema went unpunished. On June 24

more cases of arson and stabbing took place in Lahore. Six bombs exploded, one falling on the party of the magistrate M.G. Cheema, who luckily escaped. As a result of these disturbances in Lahore, Hindus and Sikhs and many Muslims even vacated Lahore for places of safety.

These disturbances seriously upset the work of all parties. Hindus and Sikhs pressed on the Governor to impose Martial law in Lahore. But the Governor would not. The League even did not relish the idea, as martial law would have undermined the authority of the police which was over-whelmingly League-minded.

The Governor hit upon a way to establish peace in Lahore to enable the smooth working of the parties. He formed a Security Committee consisting of Khan Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot, Lala Bhim Sen Sachar and Sardar Swarn Singh, with himself as chairman, to review daily the state of law and order in the Panjab, particularly in Lahore. The Committee was to be an essential link between the administration and the party leaders.

On the occasion Mr Mamdot said, "I have taken a vow to stop rioting. I give a guarantee on behalf of the Musalmans that henceforth Muslims will give no cause for anxiety to other communities. Now that Pakistan has been established, Muslims will see that Hindus and Sikhs are treated like their own brothers." The city fathers began touring the moallas

urging people to live in peace. The same happened in Amritsar also. These appeals had a salutary effect.

But to create fresh suspicion and distrust in the minds of Hindus and Sikhs in the would-be Pakistan especially the West Punjab Mr. Jinnah who became the Governor General of Pakistan, a distinction for which he had laboured hard and guided as well as misguided his coreligionists, and hence had well deserved that distinction in a press conference at New Delhi declared "Give protection to minorities in Pakistan with regard to their religious faith, life, property and culture. They would in all respects, be citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination. The minorities would have to be loyal to the state and owe true allegiance to the state. One cannot have minorities disloyal to the state and sabotaging the state." This utterance compares strangely with his previous ones on two-nation theory, a home land for Muslims, preparation for a fight with Hindus and Sikhs, the Islam in danger etc. This was also a kind of threat to the minorities in Pakistan, especially when he did not define the word loyalty and as a lawyer he could define it in any way that would please him. He could not dissociate himself from his previous utterances. This fact instead of having a healthy effect had an adverse effect and Hindus and Sikhs from the Pakistan Zone began to emigrate leaving behind their ancestral homes. They left capital worth crores of rupees. Even Gandhiji remarked on Jinnah's press conference. "But words

were nothing if not followed by action. Fratricidal strife continued from both sides. Hindus were leaving Sind. This was sad and should make Jinnah Sahib sad too". But the emigration was mainly from the districts that had undisputedly come into Pakistan according to the June 3 scheme. There was very little or no emigration from the districts that were under dispute and regarding which decision was to be made by the Boundary Commission that had been set up. The personnel and the chairman of the commission were announced in the beginning of July.

The Sikhs were demanding the division of the Punjab up to River Chanab which would include the colonies that they had formed and made habitable with their hard labour and money. The birth place of their founder-Guru Nankana Sahib, and the gurdawaras of Gujranwal, Lahore and Sialkot could be included in the East Punjab only if the river Chanab was the boundary line. They exerted all their energies in that direction and pinned their hopes on a favourable decision by the Commission. They left no stone unturned to make their case a success. But all their activities were peaceful. They were restless as never before. The whole community strove as one body and with one voice for the attainment of their objective, the division of the Punjab with the river Chanab as the boundary line. The Hindus even were much concerned in it. They had huge economic, cultural, academic and social interests in the part of the Punjab up to the river Chanab.

But the Muslims were much interested in evicting Hindus and Sikhs from all the 17 districts that had provisionally been awarded to them. They were interested in getting more even. They claimed the Punjab up to the River Sutlej. Every Muslim Leaguer was freely proclaiming that they had got the Western Punjab and the Eastern Punjab they would get by force. They were hence advised by the High Command and were determined not to vacate the Eastern Punjab. They were raising slogans and their papers were every time saying. "Mil Giya hai Pakistan, Lar Kar Len gen Hindustan (Pakistan we have got and Hindustan we shall conquer by fighting)" This was the crux of the whole problem.

On July 13 goondaism and communal madness found expression on the Sanda Road in Lahore when a Muslim threw a bomb on a party of Hindu labourers who were going home after their day's work. Twelve of them were injured.

On July 20 two bombs exploded in the locality of Baghbanpura, a suburb of Lahore killing 4 persons and injuring 14. This was followed by stabbing and 4 persons were killed.

On July 21 a bomb exploded in a cinema house in Bhati Gate in which two persons were killed and 25 seriously injured. This was followed by stabbing 4 or 5 persons in different localities of Lahore.

By now the Congress had appointed Governors for provinces of India. Sir Chandu Lal Trivedi was appoint-

ed for the East Punjab. Sant Parkash Singh was appointed I.G. Police for the East Punjab. Similarly Mr Jinnah, who became the Governor-General of Pakistan and Mr Liaquat Ali who became its Prime Minister and Ghazanfer Ali who became its food Minister etc, all Muslim Leaguers, appointed Sir Francis Mudie, who had helped the League in Sind through thick and thin, as the Governor of West Punjab and Mr Qurban Ali as its I.G. Police.

Stabbing and bombing now became too frequent in Lahore and Amritsar and hardly a day passed when some casualties did not occur in the two cities. The parties now became confident that soon after August 15 they would be set free. Their guilts would be excused and they would be considered as heroes. This was specially so because more or less two separate Governments for East and West Punjab were formed. It was given out by the Associated Press of India that a large force of mixed Army would be posted in the three districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur. Major-General Rees, Commander of the Ambala Civil Division, was selected for the task of organising security measures in the three Districts. Besides him there would be one Sikh Commander and one Muslim Commander. So far as law and order was concerned the Military would have the full charge.

On July 22 a bomb was thrown on a train which caused terrific explosion. Another bomb was thrown on a party of clerks while they were lunching in a hotel.

Two stabbing cases also occurred and a number of shops and houses were burnt.

On July 25 a special train carrying Hindu and Sikh workers to Harbanspura was held up near Moghalpura railway station by a Muslim mob by placing boulder and rails on the track. The incident took place near a Muslim village. The driver of the train who was a Muslim was also involved in the incident. As soon as the train stopped, Muslim workers in the train, along with the Muslim mob outside, attacked Hindus and Sikhs killing no less than 75 of them and injuring about 129. When it was all over the driver managed to remove the blockage and took the train to Harbanspura. This news upset greatly Hindus and Sikhs. As a result some bombs were thrown into a Mosque and a number of fires were lighted. Some cases of stabbing also occurred. The train lesson was a new one that Hindus and Sikhs learnt from Muslim miscreants.

Mischief came into the mind of League workers of a news agency. It gave news that Lord Mountbatten had asked the Eastern Punjab Secretariat to move to Simla leaving Lahore by Aug. 10. This piece of news intended that Hindus and Sikhs on learning it should leave Lahore so that their huge exodus should be interpreted that they were leaving as they were confident they would not get it and had no claim on it. This would also influence the decision of the Boundary Commission. This news actually made Hindu and Sikhs very nervous. It was a rude shock to them. They packed up and prepared to

leave the City and many actually left it. But the truth was told next day by the Associated Press of India. The story is that according to the national division of the Punjab Lahore District was given away to Pakistan. The final decision was to be made by the Boundary Commission. First of all it was agreed by the representatives of the West and the East Punjabs to let the East Punjab Secretariat function in Lahore till the division of the Boundary Commission. But later on the representatives of the West Punjab refused to let the East Punjab Secretariat work in Lahore. On account of difference of opinion the matter was referred to the Central Partition Committee's Council. Lord Mountbatten came to Lahore and asked the representatives of East Punjab Govt. to move from Lahore by August 10 and reopen at Simla on Aug. 14. He also asked the representatives of the West Punjab to keep ready to move out of Lahore if Lahore was given by the Boundary Commission to the East Punjab. This to some extent undid the mischief done by the League news agency.

On July 25 a small mob of 20 to 30 armed persons attacked a passenger train on Batala Qadian line. They fired a number of shots. Five persons and a driver were injured. The fireman drove the train through safely to its destination.

One or two days later at Dharamkot, in Ajnala Tehsil, Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Muslims on the other attacked each other and blood flowed copiously. The

Police had to resort to firing. A bomb then exploded in the Court of Sessions Judge of Amritsar. It was thrown by a Hindu boy on a Muslim crowd. Three persons were killed and 45 sustained injuries. Bombs were also thrown at Lahore.

On July 31 there were several cases of stabbing and many proved fatal. There was no bomb throwing. Trouble arose in the village of Nagoke in Taran Taran Tehsil. A party of Muslims attacked the Sikh inhabitants of the village who were also well prepared. Ten persons were killed and a few more injured.

On August 1, trouble arose in the town of Hoshiarpur where communal tension had been strong for three days. An open clash occurred in various parts of the city. Six persons were killed and half a dozen were injured. Trouble also arose in Garhshankar Tehsil of Hoshiarpur. Hindu bazar was burnt and many Hindu were stabbed.

Disturbances then took place in Jandiala Guru. Here 14 persons were killed and 9 more injured. A bomb was also thrown in Sabzi Mandi, Moga, where three persons were seriously injured. A bomb was thrown in the Hall Bazar of Amritsar by a Muslim from Chiragh Din's mosque. A number of stabbing cases also occurred there in which Hindus and Muslims alike were killed. The village Bhaini Brahmina in Amritsar District was attacked by a Sikh-Hindu jatha and 14 Muslims were murdered.

On August 3. an armed gang raided the village of Jand in Phillaur tehsil and killed 16 persons and injured 14. The same day the village of Masant was also raided by an armed gang and about half a dozen persons were killed.

After this disturbances took place in the village Kokri Arrayan in Moga Tehsil and in the village of Chagla 25 miles from Ludhiana where armed-gang raids took place and a number of persons were killed by bombs and bullets. A similar armed raid was done on the villages of Thapai and Fatehpur near Amritsar where a few persons were killed. Gujranwala was also disturbed Here several houses and shops of Hindus and Sikhs were burnt.

On Aug. 6 a party attacked the village of Sohian in the jurisdiction of Majitha police causing 10 deaths and injuries to 19 persons. Another party of armed men attacked the village of Main situated on the banks of the Beas river. An attacks was also made on the village of Bhoma Wadala. At both these villages a number of casualties took place.

On August 7 a party of armed men attacked Moga where 6 persons were killed and 2 more seriously injured. In Amritsar in the court room of the Additional District Magistrate, Faqir Sayyed Siraj-ud-Din, at noon a bomb was thrown. The Magistrate saved himself by hiding under his table but eight persons were injured. Ten men were stabbed in Beri Gate, and Katra Chai

Sant Singh. At these places was mainly Muslims who suffered loss in life.

On August 10 the Muslim police in Amritsar which since long had been the cause of much mischief in the city and which had opted for Pakistan was disarmed. This seriously un-nerved the Muslims of Amritsar and they concentrated in Sharifpura, Islama'bad and Haripura and arranged for evacuation.

On August 13 serious communal riots started in Sialkot where many Hindus and Sikhs were killed and many houses burnt.

After this both Amritsar and Lahore became more seriously disturbed. A large scale exodus began from Lahore toward Amritsar and from Amritsar towards Lahore. This was the result of open attacks and stabbing when a large number of persons were the victims. Information could not go from one city to another, It could not go even from one mohalla to another in the same city. Muslims in East Punjab felt that they were not safe there and their proper place was Pakistan. Similarly Hindus and Sikhs felt they were not safe in the Western Punjab and their proper place was India. This state of affairs went on till Aug. 14, on the morrow of which two new dominions came into existance.

CHAPTER IV

August 15 and Afterwards.

August 15, when the country of India was to be partitioned into two Dominions under the *statute* of the Westminster was feared by everybody. Even when it was sufficiently distant people had begun to prophesy what horrible and lamentable things were in store for poor Indians who, long since, had been living like brethren. This was on the lips of every one, man or woman, literate or illiterate, Hindu or Muslim. And what actually happened after the August 15 proved the prophecies true.

Let us review briefly what has been the background of the most horrible drama of blood-shed, displacement and destruction the world has witnessed. Firstly the League Leaders had preached the two-nation theory that Hindus and Muslims of India are two separate nations differing in every way of life religiously, socially, politically, economically and temperamentally ; there has never been anything in common between them nor can there be anything in future. The two-nations have been separate and must remain separate. This theory has been the cause of greatest mischief in india. Mr Jinnah stood on it as he could flourish only in this way. The British Government accepted it as they wanted to delay freedom to the country and leave it in a state of confusion when

they actually leave it. Under the theory hatred was preached by the League leaders and was replied to by some of Hindu and Sikh leaders. Secondly there has been horrible destruction of life and property in the districts of Rawalpindi, Attock, Multan, Mianwal; Peshawar etc., where Hindus and Sikhs lost heavily but the League leaders including Mr Jinnah did not utter a word of condemnation. Rather they helped the hooliganism and goondaism perpetrated in these districts. Moreover the Sikhs who are found in numbers only in the Punjab without any previous connections with butchery such as occurred in Calcutta Noakhali, Behar etc., were made to suffer. They were picked up and done away with most remorselessly. This was in every way an excess committed and advised by the League leaders. This the small but powerful martial community having so much stake in the Punjab could not take things lying down. They organized and hit back. Thirdly the League leaders had become thoroughly hateful and *venomous* and hence unreliable and untrustworthy and, as ill luck would have it, they were allowed to form the Government of Pakistan, West Punjab and N.W.F.P. The most important of them are Mr Jinnah, the Governor General in Pakistan, Mr Ghazanfar Ali, the Fool Member of Pakistan, Mr Shaukat Hayat Khan, Minister of West Punjab and Mr Abdul Qayum Premier of N.W.F.P. It was the duty of the British Government to see that none of these persons were allowed to have power in Pakistan or its provinces and unfortun-

wately they did not discharge that duty. The blame lies chiefly on Lord mountbatten who was at the helm of the Government in India. He allowed the things to take their course. He failed in this responsibility. Fourthly the Boundary Commission Award has been a piece of villainy ruining the Sikh community, dislocating them, splitting them and being responsible for the desecration of their most sacred Guriwaras. Fifthly the Muslim Military and the Muslim police became too much zealous and went out of control of the Government. The valuable loot of Hindus and Sikhs made them greedy and corrupt and they would not submit to discipline. Their action compelled the Hindu and Sikh Military and Police of India to retaliate. Sixthly the Punjab Boundary Force proved very inefficient and partisan and the direct cause of accentuating the communal trouble in the Punjab. Seventhly the partition was done without any well-thought out plan and was foolishly rushed through. The way in which the partition was done has proved very ruinous both to Pakistan and to India. Eighthly in N.W.F.P. the situation was entirely political, but by the League's workmanship it was made communal and Hindus and Sikhs there were made victims. Ninthly a number of things were done advertantly and inadvertantly by the Pakistan Government, such as false radio propaganda, searches of caravans and trucks, freely issuing of licenses to the people, by which they became aggressors and killed the minorities in Pakistan. Tenthly the Hindu-

Muslim question was purposely made accute in Pakistan in order to stir up the communal feelings of the Pathans of N.W.F.P. so that they should desert the Congress to come down on a communal plane and do the work of the League in order that it may win the referendum and also that, when N.W.F.P. had once joined the Pakistan, the Pathans may not go against it.

Let us now take up the narrative once again. The 15th of August was very impatiently awaited by every one. Mr. Jinnah awaited it as he would be acclaimed as the undisputed leader of Muslim India, nay of the Muslim world, and be installed on the Pakistan Gaddi as its Shah-han-shah. Gandhiji awaited it as India would get rid of the British Domination. The League Leaders awaited it as they would get power over their people. Congressmen awaited it as they would get the Government in their own hands, Muslims awaited it as hereafter they would think of occupying the entire country and establishing Muslim Raj, Hindus and Sikhs awaited it as they would be masters in their own home. Hours and days seemed to pass too slowly. Time was at a stand still. The clock ticked infinitely long intervals. The people's patience was on trial. What moved fast were the events.

At last after anxiously waiting and counting seconds the historic moment arrived. The mid-night clock struck 12.

What happened then! A new era ushered in. History changed. The time of jubilation and greeting

commenced. The-age long slavery ended and freedom dawned. Delhi was full of life and activity. Oath-taking, greeting and merry-making went on. Karachi wore a gala appearance. March pasts, salutations, and dinnering commenced. The Qaide-Azam Mr. Jinnah was the recipient of messages of congratulations from his friends and admirers and men of his ilk. Here was a man who got the *crown without any pedigreed claim and without making any sacrifice*. His fortune was enviable. But side by side with this festivity the cries of woe and calamity also became loud and frequent. There was wholesale massacre in the West Punjab and wholesale massacre in the East Punjab. Retaliation was met by counter-retaliation. In the West Punjab the military, the police, the Muslim National Guards, the League leaders and followers and some Government servants all wrought havoc on Hindus and Sikhs in an organised way. In the East Punjab the Rashtriya Sangh people, the Akalis and policemen took part in the killing and looting of Muslims but all in an unorganised way. The forces of law and order were very weak in both parts of the Punjab, especially near the border line.

Mass evacuation took place without any regard to the property that people were leaving behind without considering what fate they were going to meet hereafter. They cared not for the palatial buildings, costly furniture, rich lands, numberless acres, valuable cattle, ancestral associations, and precious comforts. They migrated penniless, clothless, and in extreme discomfort.

simply to be able to save the life and honour of their womenfolk. There was voluntary, mass transfer of population of 10 millions without any plan and agreement. within a short period of 4 months, soon after the coming into existence of the two dominions, and accompanied by vast destruction of human life, untold misery, conflict and unhappiness, terrible depletion of the resources of the two states, and intense hatred and enmity between Muslims on one side and the other communities on the other. The feeling of helplessness and wretchedness among the masses was so great that the common man began to doubt the blessings of freedom granted to him and the wisdom of the leaders in having been vociferous about that freedom. The dislocation and destruction brought the leaders to their wits' end. This vast evacuation or migration, as it was based on aversion, brought in its wake numerous other problems and difficulties. It increased bitterness all the more as it was forced and done without any plan and agreement between the two states, especially in the initial stages. The ways and means by which this huge migration was effected and the agencies by which it was being managed increased the difficulties still further and fished in more unfortunate results. The Pakistan Government's dishonesty and mischievous spirit and false propaganda had an overdoing effect.

The unprecedented migration started; Hindus and Sikhs left West Punjab and N.W.F.P. and Muslims Delhi and East Punjab. It was done by means of trucks.

lorries, buses, trains and foot convoys. The Indian Government used aeroplanes also for the evacuation of its nationals from far off places, such as Peshawar, Quetta, Bannu, Kohat, and Rawalpindi.

Lahore and Amritsar were the two most unfortunate cities which witnessed most of the evacuation and where consequently communal ill-feeling rose to the highest pitch and killing and looting of convoys took place. It was in these two cities that huge transit camps for the immigrants were set up. Wholesale evacuation started firstly from Lahore and Amritsar and the people became impatient for evacuation. Muslims at Lahore, and Hindus and Sikhs at Amritsar, became more vindictive and they tried in every way to harm and ruin their enemies. The wheeled and pedestrain traffic on the G. T. Road went up a hundred times, and all along it wrecked wheels, broken trunks, dead bodies, blood and fires were visible. They had devised very ingenious methods of ruining their earstwhile brethern who had become their bitterest enemies. It was a most heart-rending and piteous scene that one could see standing on this busy and important road, G. T. R., linking the two leading cities of the Province.

Ah! all this was the outcome of the division of the country. Surely this was not the way to resolve the Indian communal conundrum.

For some time after Aug 15 this mass exodus was without any plan or scheme and was carried

on under most trying and difficult conditions. The Pakistan Govt was able to evacuate a greater number of its nationals than the Indian Union. Trains and truck convoys were attacked and looted and many refugees were killed and wounded and many women were carried away by the looters. By far the greater number of such attacks took place in the West Punjab than in the East Punjab and the Sikhs were specially singled out by the Muslim mobs. Pakistan would not allow evacuation unless they had searched Hindus and Sikhs evacuating by trains, trucks, or by foot convoys. They deprived them of jewellery, money, arms, clothes, cars, shoes and other valuables almost everywhere in the West Punjab, and N.W.F.P. claiming these things as Pakistan's property. The reports of such searches poured in until the last stages of evacuation from Pakistan. In some cases the evacuees were allowed to cross the borders only in three clothes. Women even were searched by Pakistan Military and police to the point of absolute nakedness and despite vehement protests. The Indian Government resented against such searches again and again but without much effect. The trains evacuating Hindus and Sikhs were halted at flag Stations for hours together and no food and water were allowed to them. On account of these hardships many deaths, especially of women and children, took place.

The Hindu and Sikh evacuees from Pakistan suffered

for the inefficiency of the evacuating staff. The drivers of the trucks and also military people demanded heavy sums which these poor people could not easily afford. They also suffered because the East Punjab Government was not yet fully organised and very little interest was taken by the evacuating authorities. Moreover the communication system of the East Punjab Government was completely paralysed as the messages, telephonic or telegraphic, to Amritsar had to be transmitted through Lahore and the Lahore authorities would not help. The Punjab Boundary Force even was not very helpful to Hindus and Sikhs. The Congress Government's softness and credulity in dealing with the Pakistan authorities proved another factor to increase further the misery of Hindus and Sikhs as their attitude encouraged the Pakistanis to greater mischief.

It was only when the Punjab Boundary Force was abolished and M. E. O. was established under Brig. General Mohite and Colonel P. S. Chowdhry that the matters improved and evacuation was accelerated and the hardship of Hindus and Sikhs considerably lessened. Much credit goes to these two military officers. The convoys of trucks or foot caravans of Muslim refugees accompanied by Muslim Military on several occasions did much mischief by destroying the crops of the East Punjab Hindus and Sikhs and carrying away their cattle and their women. On Sept. 10 Muslim Military took away one Sikh girl, Then again on Sept. 12 Muslim Military took away one Sikh girl from near Sharifpura in

Amritsar. On Oct 30 a Muslim convoy took up 5 Sikh Women and one boy near Amritsar. A train carrying Muslim refugees to Pakistan while passing through Amritsar was found to carry 21 Hindu girls who were rescued. The Hindu Sikh convoys were snatched away by the Muslim Police and Muslim Military of their rations even, and they were supplied directly by the Indian Government as soon as it came to know of that. In many Hindu and Sikh refugee camps in the West Punjab the ration, salt and other amenities were severely cut down. Whereas for the evacuation of Muslims all kinds of Muslim Military was allowed unrestricted access in the East Punjab, the West Punjab Government objected to the presence of Sikhs, Dogras and Maharathas and for this acquiescence on the part of Defence Member of India, S. Baldev Singh, Master Tara Singh asked him to resign.

Refugee camps were set up in almost all big towns of the East and the West Punjabs where the refugees were asked to stay till they were evacuated. But unfortunately many Hindu and Sikh refugees camps in the West Punjab were attacked by Muslim mobs consisting of police, military and National Guards, and this was done to serve two-fold purpose of the Muslims, firstly to kill as many Hindus and Sikhs as possible, secondly to loot their valuables which they were carrying with them.

At many places in the West Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs having been attacked in their mohallas by Muslim

mobs, as detailed hereafter, were compelled to collect in refugee camps. Thus blood flowed freely in the West Punjab and destruction was visible everywhere. But, even then the Pakistan Government was every day complaining against the killing of Muslims in the East Punjab, without making any reference to the massacre in the West Punjab. Mr Jinnah twice or thrice in this period cried against the excesses on Muslims in the East Punjab without making mention even of what was going on in the West Punjab. This state of affairs obtained in the West Punjab in spite of the much-advertised peace tours of Ghazanfar Ali. This had a purpose, firstly to throw dust in the eyes of the world and win its sympathies, secondly to be able to start destruction and annihilation of Hindus and Sikhs with greater speed, thirdly to arouse the fanatical feelings of Pathans so that they should forget their cry of Pathanistan which Pakistan was very much dreading. The false propaganda of Pakistan progressed so much that their representative Sir Zaffarullah Khan in U.N.O. several times made undesirable references to India. Mr Jinnah cleverly made an appeal to the Dominions of British Commonwealth to lend them help in solving the minority problem in India and Pakistan but met with a rebuff. Then the Pakistan Govt. made an effort to persuade Hindus and Sikhs to remain in their houses by relaxing their brutalities in one or two places such as Rawalpindi, but as their aim was only to keep hostages herein even they did not succeed.

The Pakistan Govt. went so far as to freeze the bank deposits of Hindus & Sikhs in Pakistan but when the India Government protested against it they withdrew their order. The Pakistan Govt. then wanted to confiscate the Gold that Hindus and Sikhs had left in Lahore in the safe vaults of Punjab National Bank in the form of jewelry. The Government at first announced that as the safe was not being used so long the Hindus and Sikhs, who had their deposits in the Safe Vaults should take them out by the 20th of Nov. When the depositors went to Lahore for withdrawal they were forced by the police to redeposit their jewelry. They did so and returned empty handed. Thanks, there was no casualty.

To cover their criminal activity the Pakistan began to make false charges against the people of the East Punjab. After the Lyallpur Arya School killing, the Pakistan radio announced that Muslims were killed in Qadian whereas nothing had happened there. After the Jassar train massacre, when Hindus and Sikhs were killed, the Pakistan radio announced that the D. C. of Ambala had ordered the Muslims to vacate the city in 24 hours. This was quite wrong.

The Muslim refugees who went to Pakistan were settled in the houses of Hindus and Sikhs that they had left there intact with locks on. The Pakistan Government in connection with those houses announced that the moveable property of the owners had been collected in one room which was locked and sealed and they could come back to live in their houses or remove

that property. But when some of the owners actually went back for the sake of their property they found their houses occupied and there was no lock, no seal and no property.

During the period of evacuation the Pakistan Government took action against responsible papers for publishing factual news and relevant comments. The Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore and the Sind Observer of Karachi even had to suffer. Articles to foreign papers such as New Statesman from their correspondents in Pakistan were delayed by the Government.

In connection with evacuation a very unfortunate thing was the bitter controversy that went on between the leaders of the two dominions regarding the decisions arrived at in their joint conferences. Recrimination and counter-recrimination went on for a long time when ultimately the Indian leaders stopped it thinking it as utterly useless and superfluous.

CHAPTER V

Chronology of Events During Mass Exodus

August 11.—Hindus and Sikhs were murdered in a train near Badamibagh (W. P.)

August 12.—A train carrying Hindus and Sikhs from Sialkot was derailed near Sialkot and attacked (W. P.)

August 13.—Serious disturbances broke out in Sialkot (W. P.) Hindus and Sikhs were butchered in a train coming from Wazirabad (W. P.) A Hindu-Sikh Train going to Jammu was derailed and attacked near Sialkot (W.P.)

August 14.—Disturbances started in Gujranwala District (W P)

August 15.—A Hindu-Sikh train coming from Wazirabad was attacked near Sialkot (W. P.)

Killing of Hindus and Sikhs started in Multan (W. P.)

Conversions started in Attock district (W. P.)

August 16.—Disturbances started in Ferozepur district (E. P.)

August 17.—Disturbances started in Gujrat district
(W. P.)

Radcliffe award was announced.

The award of Sir Cyril Radcliffe though very important, as it delimited the boundary between two freshly carved Dominions, and though done according to the terms of reference, will go down in history as one of the most unjust, careless and unfortunate decisions given by any Judge on a very vital matter. None could anticipate it. The two Dominions born of hate and hooliganism and hence, having tendencies of going to war with each other, as it actually proved soon after Aug. 15, were separated by a thin line. the thinnest possible, and of about 60 miles in length, Here a strong boundary was needed. Village was separated from village, and even those having the closest ties of brotherhood and neighbourliness. Not only this much, in many cases, villages were split up which were one and unsplitable. This was a crime against the corporate village life, This is responsible for creating conflict between villages on the border line. 'The other factors' were almost ignored though stress was laid on them by Mr. Henderson and Mr. R.A. Butler even. The award gave a shocking blow to the Sikh community and it was miserably divided into two parts. Their property and sacred shrines were handed over to Pakistan which had, by the conduct of the persons in power, bacome an enemy country for them. The award gave homelands to

Indian Muslims and Hindus but brought calamity to the Sikhs. The award gave Lahore to Pakistan which was extremely unjust. Lahore belonged to Hindus and Sikhs in every way. Out of the 5332 as the total number of shops in Lahore 3501 belonged to them. Out of the total number of 218 factories in Lahore 173 belonged to them. A large number of teaching institutions of Lahore belonged to them and the majority of people were Hindus and Sikhs. Most of the income of the Lahore Corporation came from their pockets. Even the social and cultural life of the city was based on their activities. The award, hence, had a great share in disturbing the relations between Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Muslims on the other, of the two Dominions.

August 18.—A Hindu-Sikh train coming from Wazirabad was attacked near Sialkot (W. P.)

Disturbances started in Montgomery District (W. P.)

Disturbances were started by Muslims in Bahawalpur State (Pakistan).

August 20.—Disturbances started in Quetta (Baluchistan in Pakistan).

August 21.—Disturbances started in Montgomery District (W. P.)

Aug. 23 :—Hindus and Sikhs in Down Sind Express were finished by a Muslim mob (Paki.n)ast

Aug. 24 :—A Hindu-Sikh lorry Convoy was attacked near Ravi Bridge of Lahore (W.P.) Disturbances started in Sheikhpura district. (W.P.)

Aug. 25 :—The Civil & Military Gazette of Lahore complained to the Pakistan Government against the censorship of factual news in the paper.

Disturbances started in Jhang district (W.P.) Muslims started trouble in Ludhiana District (E.P.)

Aug. 26 :—Mr Ghazanfar Ali member of Pakistan Government said, 'A feeling of resentment in the West Punjab is rising fast and unless the situation in the East is immediately brought under control, the administrative machinery of West Punjab, which has been put to the utmost strain may find it impossible to repel the surging wrath of the people'.

He also gave a threat to India of possible stoppage of food grains from Pakistan in case disturbances did not stop in East Punjab.

Aug. 27 :—Shri Sri Prakasha, High Commissioner for India along with the Deputy High Commissioner etc., arrived in Lahore and had a three hour meeting with the Premier and other ministers of the West Punjab and in the evening

General Rees, Commander of the Boundary Force met him. The situation in the West and East Punjab provinces was reviewed.

The High Commissioner later visited the refugee camp in Lajpat Rai Hall, Lahore and had discussions with members of the Relief Committee. They requested that sufficient transport and military escort should be immediately made available for evacuation of people as armed bands were going about in certain areas.

Aug. 28 :—Muslims started trouble in Hassar District (E.P.)

Aug. 28 :—Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in a press conference at Delhi said, "Conditions in the Punjab are very serious. Various accounts have appeared from Karachi, Lahore and elsewhere, from high officers of Governments, who have not shown that sense of responsibility which should govern utterances at the present moment." He issued a warning to his people against competition in retaliation as by indulging in such retaliation the persons sought to be protected could not be protected. He also said that if there was to be retaliation or punishment, it should be governmental retaliation and

governmental punishment, which meant war. He regretted that there was a black-out of news from the West Punjab. He pointed out that in the East Punjab the Government's difficulties were that the whole communication system, such as railway, telephone, telegraph and postal had failed, as it was linked with the centre which was Lahore, and Lahore did not help.

Aug. 28 ;—A communique issued by the Punjab Boundary Force said, "the overall situation in the area of the Force can nowhere be described as satisfactory. The situation is that there is general improvement in the cities, but in the rural areas killing is still going on by communities. The total number of casualties among both communities is steadily increasing".

Aug. 29 :—(a) Sir Ghandu Lal, the East Punjab Governor stated : " Both the Ministers i.e. Dr. Gopi Chand and S. Swaran Singh, and I feel a great deal of anxiety about the situation in the West Punjab, about which we have not received any authentic reports. Untoward events in the West Punjab

undoubtedly make our position difficult and I naturally hope that, henceforth, at any rate, nothing will happen to add to our difficulties."

(b) Lord Mountbatten, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, S. Baldev Singh, the Governor and Ministers of East Punjab reached Lahore to have discussion with Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr Abdur Rab Nishtar on the grave communal situation in the two Punjabs. Lord Auchinleck, the Supreme Military Commander-in-Chief of India and Sir Frank Messervy, the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan were also present.

This joint Council took important decisions. It decided to abolish the Boundary Force with effect from Aug. 31-Sept 1 midnight. The area covered by the Boundary Force was handed over to the direct and individual control as apposed to the indirect and joint control obtaining hitherto, of the respective Dominion Governments. It was also decided that India and Pakistan would each set up a new Military Headquarters to control their areas. Both the Headquarters would

be situated in Lahore to ensure the closest cooperation in providing guards and escorts for refugees. The reason given for this action was that the disturbed area had grown out of all proportion to the responsibilities originally put upon the Boundary Force, as for example, 70 percent of attacks on trains had taken place outside that area.

It was also agreed that each Government would appoint a Custodian of refugees property. Close Liaison between these custodians would be arranged and illegal seizure of property should not be recognised.

It was further agreed that concentration camps should be established by both Governments, wherein members of armed bands found in either territory would be detained. Armed bands found in the process of committing crimes were liable to be shot at sight.

It was also decided in the Council that top Ministers of the two Dominions should divide themselves into parties and visit affected places in East as well as West Punjab.

In a seperate meeting of the West Punjab League Legislators deprecated the idea of mass evacuation.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru addressing a joint gathering of spokesmen of Hindus, Muslims and Skhs at Lyallpur said: "I shall spend most of my time in the Punjab until peace is restored to this province."

Mr Liaqat Ali also addressed the gathering saying that the minorities should not leave. He told his Muslim audience that their own interest required that peace should be maintained because the foundations of Pakistan would be weakened. Killing innocent persons in retaliation was against Islam and Humanity.

Both the premiers then visited on that day Sheikhpura where Hindus and Sikhs had been massacred in large numbers and women abducted.

September 1.—5000 stranded Hindus and Sikhs near Narowal were supplied 9 maunds of chapatis by Air by the Indian Govenment from Delhi. Disturbances started in Nawab Shah (Karachi-Pakistan).

Accordingly Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mr Liaqat Ali Khan visited Lyallpur, Sheikhpura and Amritsar, while Mr Shaukat Hayat Khan, S. Swaran Singh and Mr Mohammad Ali visited Sialkot and Gujranwala. The second party consisting of Sardar Baldev Singh, Mr Abdul Rab Nishtar, Dr. Gopi chand and Sheikh Karamat Ali visited Sialkot, Gujranwala, Kasur, Ferozepore, Moga and Ludhiana.

Aug. 29 :—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked near Pasrur (W. P.) The first Hindu-Sikh convoy reached India from Montgomery.

Aug. 30 :—Pakistan goods train was looted and burnt at Bahadargarh (E. P.)

Aug. 31 :—Mr M. A. Jinnah came to Lahore and broadcasted from that radio station saying. "On my arrival here, I immediately got in touch with various sources that were available to me and I was deeply grieved to realize that unfortunately there was a great deal of truth in what had been told to me—harrowing accounts of terrible happenings in the Punjab. Pakistan having been achieved without a bloody war, are we now going to besmear and tarnish this great achievement by resorting to frenzy, savagery and butchery?"

September 2.—A Hindu train was attacked near Nawab Shah (Sind, Pakistan).

Minor trouble started in Simla (East Punjab)

Disturbances started in Delhi (India).

September 3.—A joint conference of representatives of the two Dominion was held at Lahore. It was attended by the two Prime Ministers of their Dominions, Sardar Patel, the Governor of the East Punjab. Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar and Mr. Ghazanfar Ali, the Governor of the West Punjab, Dr. Gopi Chand and the Premier of West Punjab to review the situation once again after the different Parties had toured the affected areas. The conference unanimously reached the following decisions. (1) Law and order should immediately be established in the provinces and Lawlessness suppressed and punished. (2) Refugees and evacuees should be safely and quickly by trains, motor lorries and other means. conducted to the borders, (3) Refugee camps should be established in both provinces and the Governments of the provinces should provide food and

other necessities in equal measure to all refugees. (4) Illegal seizure of property should not be recognised. (5) Evacuees should be permitted at their discretion and within the limits of transport available to take with them moveable property including licensed weapons, food, domestic animals carts and vehicles not intended for public use. (6) Forced conversion and marriages should not be recognised and women and girls abducted must be restored to their families. (7) Religious places must be protected and safeguarded by the Governments. (8) Close liaison must be obtained between the two Governments for cooperation work. (9) Charges made against the offending officers must be investigated into by the Governments concerned. (10) Both the Governments of the Provinces should issue daily communiques of factual news of occurrences within their territory as well as the number of people evacuated.

September 4.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was fired at by Pakistan troops near Beas E. P.)

Muslims started trouble in Patiala State.

Disturbances started in Jhelum District
(W.P.)

September 5.—1000 lorries were employed by Indian Government for evacuation of its nationals from West Punjab. Arrangements were made to send aeroplanes to far off places in West Punjab. Major-General B. S. Chimni was made incharge of M.E.O. at Amritsar and General Rees at Lahore.

Professor Madan Gopal Singh was stabbed and killed at Lahore where he had gone on official duty. The Indian Government demanded proper amends including grant of suitable compensation but the matter was explained away by West Punjab Government and closed.

The West Punjab Government issued an ordinance concerning the confiscation of the money of Non-Muslim banks as follows: The Ordinance—called the Punjab Public-Safety Act—lays down that the banks shall not remove their assets, including fixed and demand deposits, out of the province without the written permission of the Government. The Ordinance authorizes any officer of gazetted rank to enter any premises, the owner of which cannot

be traced, and prepare an inventory of the contents of the premises and freeze any stocks and make them available for public use in such manner as the said officer may deem fit. The Ordinance also empowers the officer to ban the export of any commodity or any material capable of manufacturing goods without his permission.

The matter was taken up officially by the Indian Government with the Pakistan Government as the act of the Pakistan Government seemed to be a complete violation of agreements and understandings reached between the two dominions in regard to monetary arrangements.

Severe disturbances were reported from Gujrat, Sialkot Gujranwala Jhang, and Mian Channu.

September 6:--Disturbances started in Jhelum District.

Disturbances started in Lyallpur District.

September 7:--Disturbances started in Muzaffargarh and

Dera Ghazi Khan Districts.

September 8:--A Hindu Sikh refugee train was attacked near Pasrur.

September 9:—Mr. Ghazanfar Ali addressing a Hindu-Sikh meeting at Mandi Bahaud-Din said, "I came to you with deep sorrow and keen regret. I fully realise your hardships and the degree of calamity that has befallen you. Do not blame Pakistan for all that has happened during the last few days. Independence came to us a few weeks ago in the midst of a blaze of communal war.....To-day I stand before you steeped in shame and mortification. I could never believe that some of us were so depraved as to indulge in loot, murder, and arson-beastly acts which could not be justified by any argument, religious or moral, nor could they be supported on grounds of political expediency. We have been held guilty before the entire world and should hang our heads in utter humiliation."

But Mr. Ghazanfar Ali only delivered speeches at the places that had been disturbed and where Hindus and Sikhs had been ruined. It was a confession of guilt all right but it served no useful purpose.

He next made a similar speech at Jhang.

The Army H. Q. India reported that in the East Punjab the general position was quiet.

A Hindu convoy was attacked near Kunjah Gujrat in (W. P.)

Disturbances started in Mianwali District (Gujrat, Pakistan).

September 10.—The Prime Minister of India in a broadcast gave warnings to his people, "Persons in responsible position, whether Civil or Military, must be dutiful as we are playing with the life of a nation. Good intentioned people must help us.

"I am ashamed of the things that my people have done. Evil cannot be ended by evil and you cannot put an end to murder by murder. We must have peace, law and order. We must rescue our people in the West Punjab. We must co operate in the process of exchange of population, whenever it is necessary. This business of disturbing the peace, murder, killing and arson come in the way of our so co-operating and carrying out the very thing that these people desire."

The West Punjab Governor issued a fresh ordinance by which he repealed his

previous ordinance regarding banks and unoccupied houses and enacted fresh ordinances. (1) The West Punjab Economic Rehabilitation Ordinance and (2) Evacuees property ordinance which removed more or less the provisions of the previous ordinance.

September 11.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked and searched at Shahdara (W.P.)

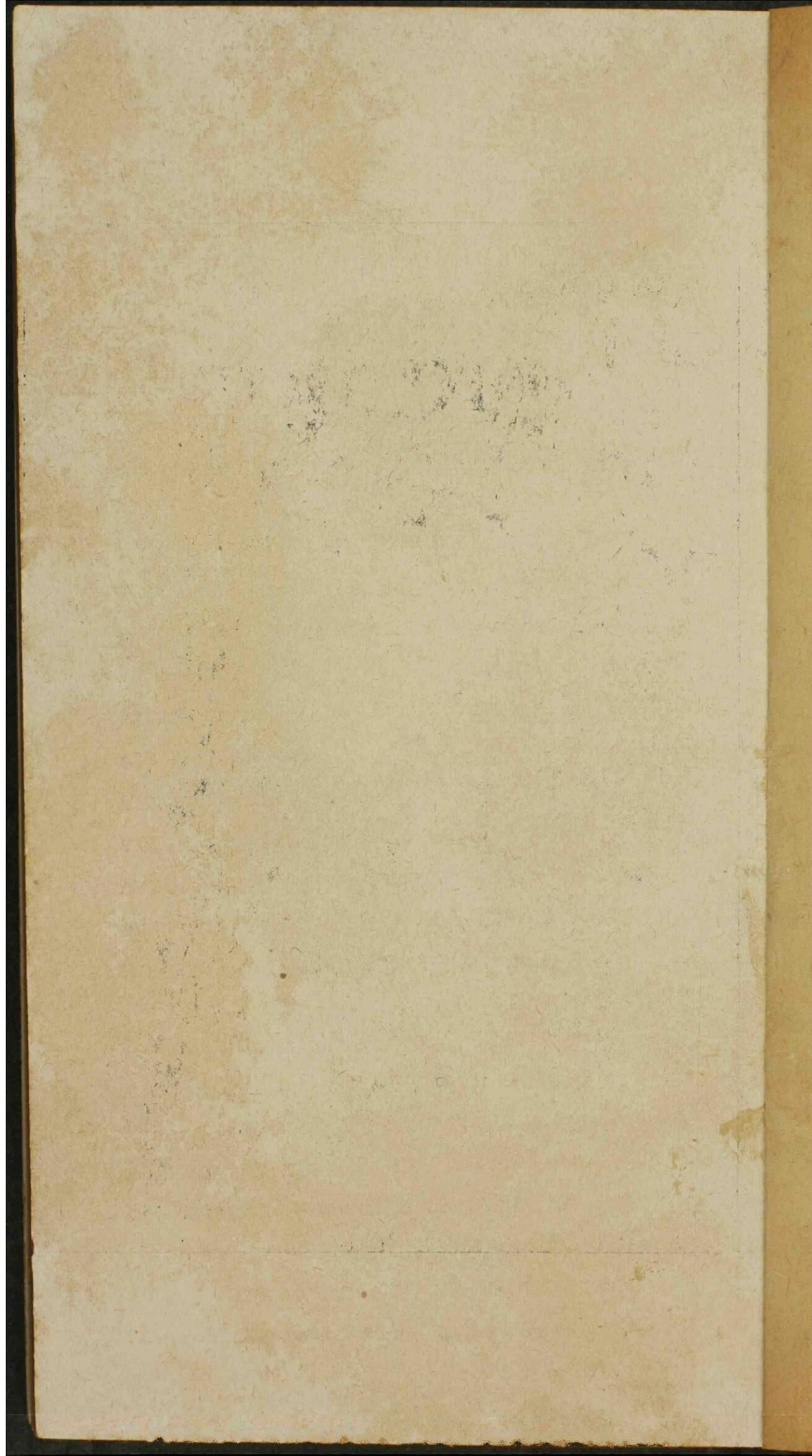
September 13.—A Hindu Sikh refugee train was attacked near Sialkot (W.P.)

A Muslim refugee train was derailed and attacked near Chheharta (E.P.)

September 14.—Mr Liaqat Ali, Pakistan Premier, made a very mischeivous speech in the Council of the Muslim League at Lahore. He made no reference to the brutalities by Muslims in Pakistan and India and the malignant poison the Leaguers were injecting into the Muslim minds. He propounded a new theory equally mischievous as his master's two-nation theory. Because of the mischief done by his men Hindus and Sikhs could not remain in Pakistan. They were made to flee from their homes in most difficult circumstances. Naturally when they came to



Muslim foot convoy passing through Amritsar en-route to Lahore.



the East Punjab they thought of retaliation. Moreover the Muslims of East Punjab and Delhi themselves had started disturbances in their places. This the Police and the Military could not allow. They had to leave for Pakistan and they did although the Indian leaders did their utmost to make them stay on there. Forgetting all that Mr. Liaquat Ali remarked evidently to cover his own sins: "The carnage of Muslims in the East Punjab follows the execution of an unholy plan chalked out by the enemies of Pakistan to sabotage it on its very birth. The Muslims of the East Punjab are ousted only by the bullets and bayonets of the forces of law and order. It is my firm conviction the Muslims, would have stoutly stuck to their posts if the military and the police did not turn on them.

It is regretted that the Governments of India and the East Punjab have not been able fully to implement the decisions jointly taken at Lahore, but as an honourable nation, we have scrupulously adhered to all the decisions."

There could be nothing more wrong and mischievous than this statement. It

showed that something more was soon coming from Pakistan side and it was the duty of India to be on her guard.

September 15:—A Hindu-Sikh train was attacked near Sialkot (W. P.) Disturbances started in Hoshiardur (E. P.)

September 16:—Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru gave a crushing and convincing reply to Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan by saying "None of us, however, has thought of treating Pakistan as an enemy or harboured an intention to destroy it. It is unfortunate that any such motive should be imputed to the Government of India. No one can estimate, even approximately, at this stage the number of casualties, but we have some reason to believe that the casualties in the West Punjab have been greater than in the East."

Mahatma Gandhi even was compelled to warn Pakistan in the following-terms. "If Pakistan persisted in doing, wrong there was bound to be a war between India and Pakistan."

Mr Jinnah too had a fling at the Indian Government As characteristic of him, forgetting absolutely the barbarities

committed by his men in Pakistan, he belittled the attempts of Indian leaders towards peace and order and advised them in the terms. "There are harrowing accounts of the plight which has befallen Muslims in Delhi City. Many thousands of Muslims there are now stranded in refugee camps. I hope the Government at Delhi will put down with an iron hand those who are defying the authority of that Government are the enemies of the State and are bereft of every elementary sense of humanity, They should be treated as such and dealt with accordingly".

On this very day Mr Zafarullah Khan at a press conference in New York made similar remark as his Chief Mr Jinnah did, decrying the killing in the East Punjab and Delhi and laying blame on Indian leaders without mentioning what was happening in the West Punjab and other parts of Pakistan,

The Indian Government replied to it sentence by sentence and clause by clause. Mr Khaliquzzaman also while he was at Lucknow contradicted Zaffarullah Khan. In a meeting between the East and the West

Punjab Governments it was settled that Muslims convoy to Pakistan should go via Amritsar to Lahore while Hindu-Sikh convoys to India should go by Balloki Head and Ferozepore and that no Dogra, Rajput or Sikh Military should enter Pakistan to escort convoys or protect refugee camps.

This arrangement coupled with the excesses committed in Pakistan and the lies uttered by the Pakistan Government and the soft attitude adopted by the Indian Government made Master Tara Singh ask S. Baldev Singh to resign. He said "Sikhs and Hindus in the West Punjab refugee camps and in convoys proceeding to the East Punjab are being murdered in thousands simply because there is either no Military escort, or the escort provided is inadequate. Secondly, the route fixed for Hindu and Sikh refugees is twice as long as that fixed for Muslims I hear that our Government has agreed that no Sikh troops will be sent to Pakistan while Muslim troops will be allowed in Hindustan. I condemn this discrimination. Arrangements for the transport of evacuees are utterly

insufficient. If this state of things continue, lakhs will be murdered or will perish on the way to the East Punjab. I advise you to resign if you are unable to alter this callous and unsympathetic attitude of the Army authorities and refuse to be a pawn in this huge fraud of sham independence.

September 16.—A Hindu and Sikh train coming from Sacha Sauda was attacked near Shahdara (W.P.)

A Hindu-Sikh train from Mian Channu was detained for several days at Raiwind (W.P.)

A Hindu-Sikh convoy was attacked near Attock (W.P.)

September 17.—A Hindu-Sikh foot convoy was attacked at Narowal (W.P.)

A Muslim convoy was attacked near Moga (E.P.)

A Muslim train was derailed near Simla (E.P.)

September 18.—A correspondent of Hindustan Times of Delhi from Cawnpore divulged an important secret. He stated that a secret circular was issued by the Pakistan Government to some trusted Muslim officials, holding high positions in various

provinces in India, enjoining on them not to quit their posts and positions in the Union, despite the present alarming conditions, emphasising the imperative necessity of holding on to where they were. Financially too, it was pointed out they would further help the cause of the Muslim nation better if they stayed behind and enabled other unemployed Muslims to secure employment in India instead of in Pakistan. Their en mass migration to Pakistan at this critical stage, warned the circular, would strain the slender resources of Pakistan and upset all its plans.

The Angel of Peace and Love, Gandhiji, administered a stern warning to Hindus and Sikhs at Delhi. "I cannot associate myself with the contention that India should drive out all Muslim population to Pakistan as the Muslims of Pakistan are driving out all non-Muslims. Two wrongs would not make one right. Listen to this advice and act bravely and fearlessly and be proud to live in the midst of large Muslim population."

A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked near Sialkot (W.P.)

A Hindu-Sikh foot convoy was attacked near Okara (W.P.)

September 20.—A Sikh convoy was finished near Khairabad (W.P.)

September 22.—A Muslim refugee train was attacked near Amritsar. (E.P.)

September 24.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train coming from Pind Dadan Khan was attacked near Kamoke (W.P.)

A Pakistan troop train was fired at near Amritsar (E.P.)

September 25.—It was officially announced in New Delhi by the Indian Government that the East Punjab was quiet. Convoys on trucks and on foot passed on quietly and peacefully through Amritsar.

A train proceeding from Mandi Baha-ud-Din was stopped at Shahdara and searched thoroughly and the refugees were deprived of their valuables and licenced arms. They were charged railway fare but no tickets were issued to them (W. P.)

Against these searches the Government of India lodged a protest with the Government of Pakistan.

September 27.—Searches were reported of two Hindu Sikh convoys while crossing Balloki Head. These columns were without any food. Indian Government arranged to drop to them chapatis at Chunian (W.P.)

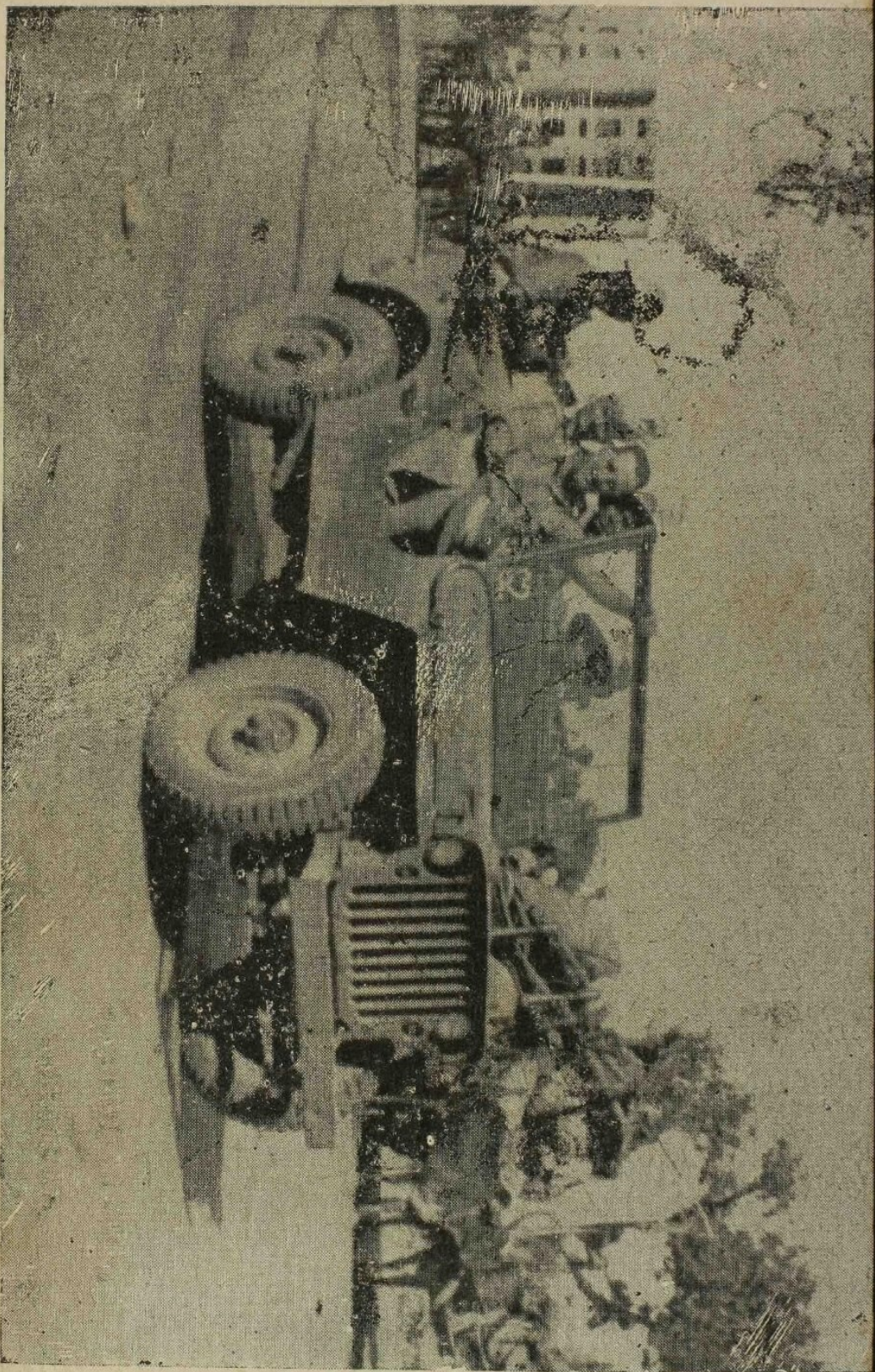
- (b) A Hindu Sikh convoy was attacked near Lyallpur (W.P.).
- (c) A Muslim foot-convoy was attacked near Amritsar (E.P.)
- (d) A Sikh convoy was searched near Balloki and deprived of arms, cash, jewelry and ration (W.P.)
- (e) Killing of Hindus and Sikhs started in Attock District (W.P.)

September 30:—(a) Sardar Patel visited Amritsar and in a vigorous speech, delivered before an audience of fifty thousands, urged the people not to resort to retaliation and take the law in their own hands. He appealed to them to keep peace to enable the Government to evacuate its nationals from the West Punjab.

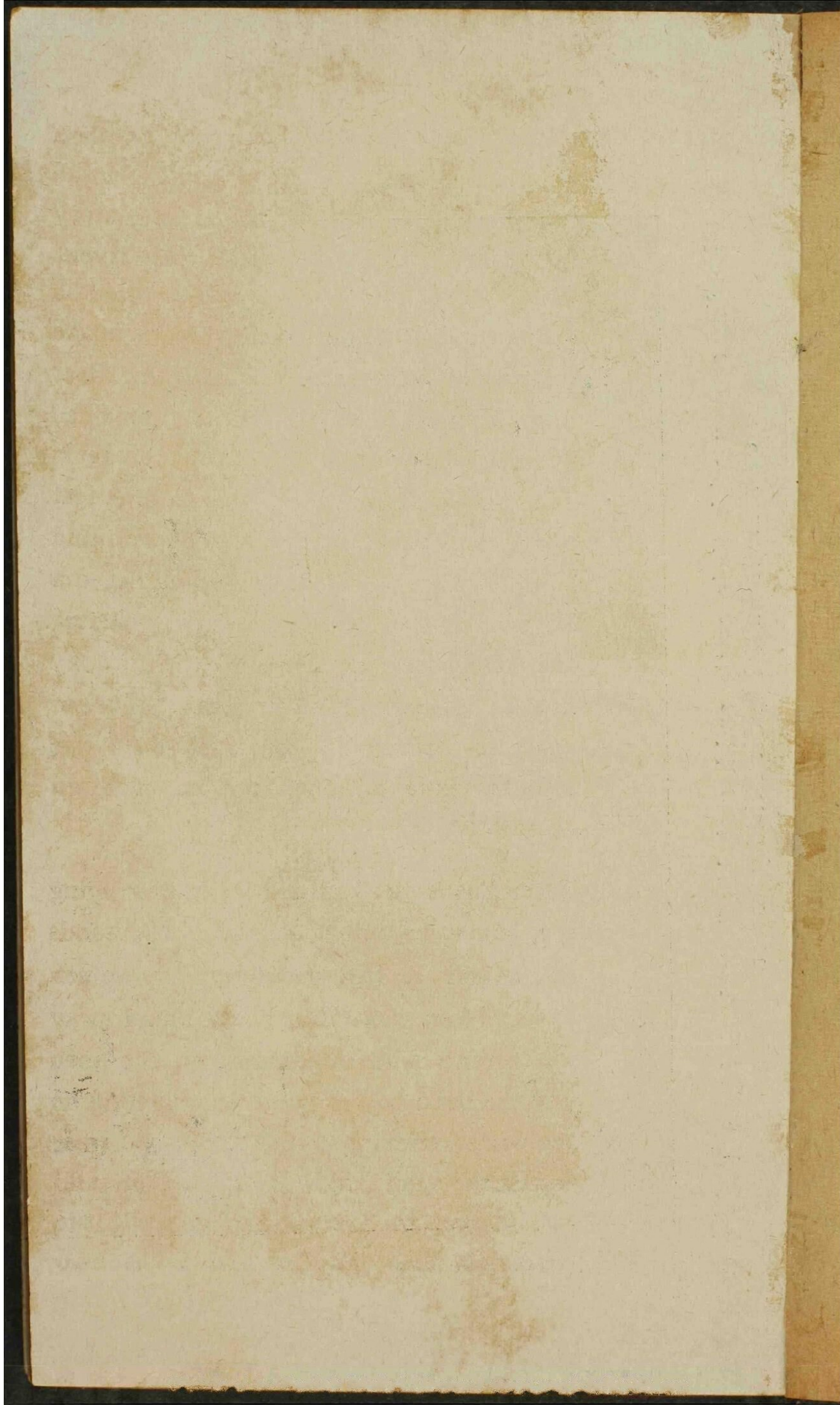
- (b) A Hindu Sikh refugee convoy at Sacha Sauda was attacked (W.P.)

October 1:—(a) A Hindu Sikh refugee camp at Tandlian Wala (Lyallpur) was attacked by Muslims (W.P.)

- (b) A Hindu-Sikh refugee camp at Lyallpur was attacked by Muslims (W.P.)
- (c) A Hindu-Sikh lorrey convoy was attacked near Lakki (N.W.F.P.)



Muslim convoy with their cattle and household effects, loaded in carts
en-route to Lahore under Military escort.



October 2:—One calamity was followed by another. Four Districts of the East Punjab experienced the biggest havoc in history owing to floods in Sutlej and Beas rivers. The waters from the floods entered a large number of towns and villages in the districts of Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar and Kangra. These areas remained submerged in water for about a week. The Sutlej river water, five to nine feet deep, demolished practically every mud house in Ferozepore City and damaged a large number of brick buildings including the telephone exchange. The railway bridge between Phillaur and Jullundur was also damaged. The river Ravi was also in spate although not to such an extent.

These floods also had a share in destroying life, human as well as animal. Thousands of Muslims in foot convoys, men, women and children, near Beas were swept away by torrents while bivouacing in the open and the dead bodies were seen floating on the water, sticking to the banks and trees and in the mud. Hundreds died of cold and starvation. It was a piteous sight to behold all this. Hindus and Sikhs near

Balloki Head and at Ferozepore also fared very badly although the loss was not so much.

(b) A Hindu - Sikh refugee camp was attacked at Lyallpur (W.P.)

October 4;—(a) A Muslim refugee column was attacked (E.P.)

(b) A Muslim foot-convoy was attacked near Batala (E P.)

October 7;—Mr Ghulam Hussain Hidayat-Ullah, Governor of Sind, Addressing a meeting at Karachi remarked. "I have been asked by Mr Jinnah to give you the message that he does not want an exchange of population." This was something strange. Mr Jinnah harped on two-nation theory, insisted on exchange of population on the occasion of Bihar happening and encouraged the killing of Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan to set up a single-nation state, but now he changed his mind. As to why he changed his mind Mr Ghulam Hussain should have explained that also.

October —Mr. Liaqat Ali, Pakistan Premier, communicated to the Government of India that the Pakistan Government would not be prepared to take any refugees into Pakistan other than those who came from

the East Punjab, and the East Punjab States, such as Patiala, Jind Faridkot, and Nabha.

This meant that Pakistan for the establishment of which the League leadership misguided the Muslims of all India and for which most of Muslims of India, especially of Delhi and U.P., worked hard and consequently deserved the greatest credit, soon after its establishment, is closed to them. Nor it could be possible for the Indian Government to prevent them from leaving India if they so desired as it could be easily misinterpreted. Logically, Pakistan's protest implied that the Indian Government was forcing the Muslims out and this is beside the truth. This meant clearly a charge against India of forcible expulsion of Muslims.

This charge of Pakistan was absolutely false. Rather It was Pakistan that was shamefully expelling Hindus and Sikhs maimed and crippled, worried and wounded, deprived of relations, clothes and money and stripped of jewelry and personal effects, after carefully having them searched by police and agreement entered into with

India. But even then Pakistan blamed India.

In a Lahore meeting when Mr K.C. Neogy & Mr. N. Gopalaswami Iyengar were present Mr Liaqat Ali Khan made a request that India should not send any more Muslims to Pakistan. The Indian representatives reiterated the policy of the Government that they would not force the Muslims, who were eager to leave to stay on against their wishes. They were free to choose. The Indian representatives reminded the Pakistan Premier of the Hindus who were leaving Sind, Baluchistan, and the Frontier Province. It was, therefore, difficult to confine migration of Muslims to one small province unless Pakistan succeeded in retaining the non-Muslims in Sind and the Frontier Province.

Oct 9.—Mr Liaqat Ali in a statement modified the stand that he took in a joint meeting on Oct. 8 held at Lahore. He said,

“ I made it clear that, while Pakistan would not refuse shelter to any Muslim settler it would refuse in any way to facilitate abandonment by muslims of their home and properties in India outside the East Punjab. I emphasized that it

was for the Government of India to implement their reiterated promises to give full protection to all their Muslim Nationals and that if they did so honestly the question of the evacuation of Muslims from Delhi and U.P. would not arise."

This showed that the Pakistan Government people would sermonise others but care not a bit themselves for the qualities of honesty, sincerity and truth. They point to the mote in the eyes of others forgetting the beam in their own.

October 10.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked near Shahdara (W.P)

October 11.—Mr. Jinnah at karachi before Army, Navy and Air Officers made another bewildering and misleading statement. "If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be mass exchange of population, let it be taken up on governmental plane and it should not be left to be sorted out by blood thirsty elements." In the same speech he once again gave assurance of safety to minorities in Pakistan but not being backed by real efforts they were meaningless.

To this Sardar Patel issued a rejoinder. "Non-Muslims cannot reconcile themselves to the 'paper' assurance of protection given to them by Pakistan leaders. The value of these assurances is writ large on thousands of murders, abductions forced marriages, burnt houses and maimed children. The question of sending out of Muslims from the East Punjab is an agreed arrangement between the two Dominions. It is no longer a matter of policy of any one Government. The conclusion is irresistible that Mr. Liaquat Ali is not prepared to own or face the consequences of decisions to which he has been a willing party."

It also shows that those who sow the wind must be prepared to reap the whirlwind.

October 13.—Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru reiterated that it was not his Government's desire to send away a single Muslim resident of the United Provinces or Delhi who did not go, but that facilities would be given and were being given to those who wanted to go.

He also stated that in spite of repeated decision to the contrary, searches were

taking place of people who crossed the frontiers and they were being deprived of almost everything that they brought.

He also added "One of difficulties has been that the agreements arrived at between Pakistan and India and, if I may say so, the instructions issued by the Pakistan Government itself are not carried out by their subordinates. That is a curious state of affairs".

Regarding exchange of population, Jawahar Lal said, " This business of exchange of population was not of our seeking, but owing to various occurrences, it simply took place, and naturally we had to adapt ourselves to it and make all provisions for it. When we met the Ministers of Pakistan Government, it was decided to carry this out with as much of mutual cooperation as possible. The Frontier province was included in that because the Frontier province is completely cut off from India and if there was an exchange in the Punjab it inevitably followed that the Frontier Province would be affected by it. These areas like Sind where the same principles do not apply.

but here also we propose to give all facilities of railway or shipping to those who wish to go away but it is to be treated on a different level from the Punjab problem. There was no question at any time of any Muslim residents of the United Provinces being sent away unless they expressly desired to go away. So far as I know, nobody was in fact being sent away from the U. P., except a number of Muslims who had come there from Eastern Punjab and who were considered as part of the Punjab problem.

"None of us envisaged a major transfer of population at any time. Perhaps there was lack of judgment on our part, but in this, as in various events that happened in the Punjab the problem was thrown upon us and we had to face it squarely.

October 13.—Mr. Liaqat Ali once again, blamed the Indian Government and this time in a new fashion. He said in a statement:—

"The Government of India and the East Punjab Government have not fulfilled the undertaking, but on the contrary, have decided, as a matter of Government Policy, to send out from part of East

Punjab every single Muslim irrespective of whether some of them wish to stay on We are absolutely opposed to mass migration of Muslims.....In fact it was in order to prevent our hurling these obligations at each other that we put forward our proposal for neutral observers from U. N. O. but Sardar Patel and his Government turned it down."

A Hindu Sikh foot convoy was attacked near Jhelum(W.P)

A Muslim foot convoy was waylaid and deprived of cash worth 20 lakhs (E. P)

October 16:—The Pakistan Government cut off the water supply of the canal along which non-Muslim refugees numbering at least 150,000 were making their way towards India via Balloki Head works. They were getting their water from the canal and now they were put under incredible hardships. The explanation given by the Pakistan Government was that owing to danger to Head works the water supply of the canal had been cut off.

October 17.—Indian Government sent three plane loads i. e. 1500 lbs. in weight of chapatis puries, achar chatni and tinned milk to West

Punjab where its nationals were reported to be without food in refugee camps at Mandi Bahaud-Din and Jaranwala for some days. The Ministry received S. O. S. message and the things were got ready overnight with the voluntary assistance of some organisations and families of Delhi.

October 20.—Muslims started trouble in Karnal District (E. P)

October 21.—(a) A Muslim refugee train was attacked near Kalka (W. P.)

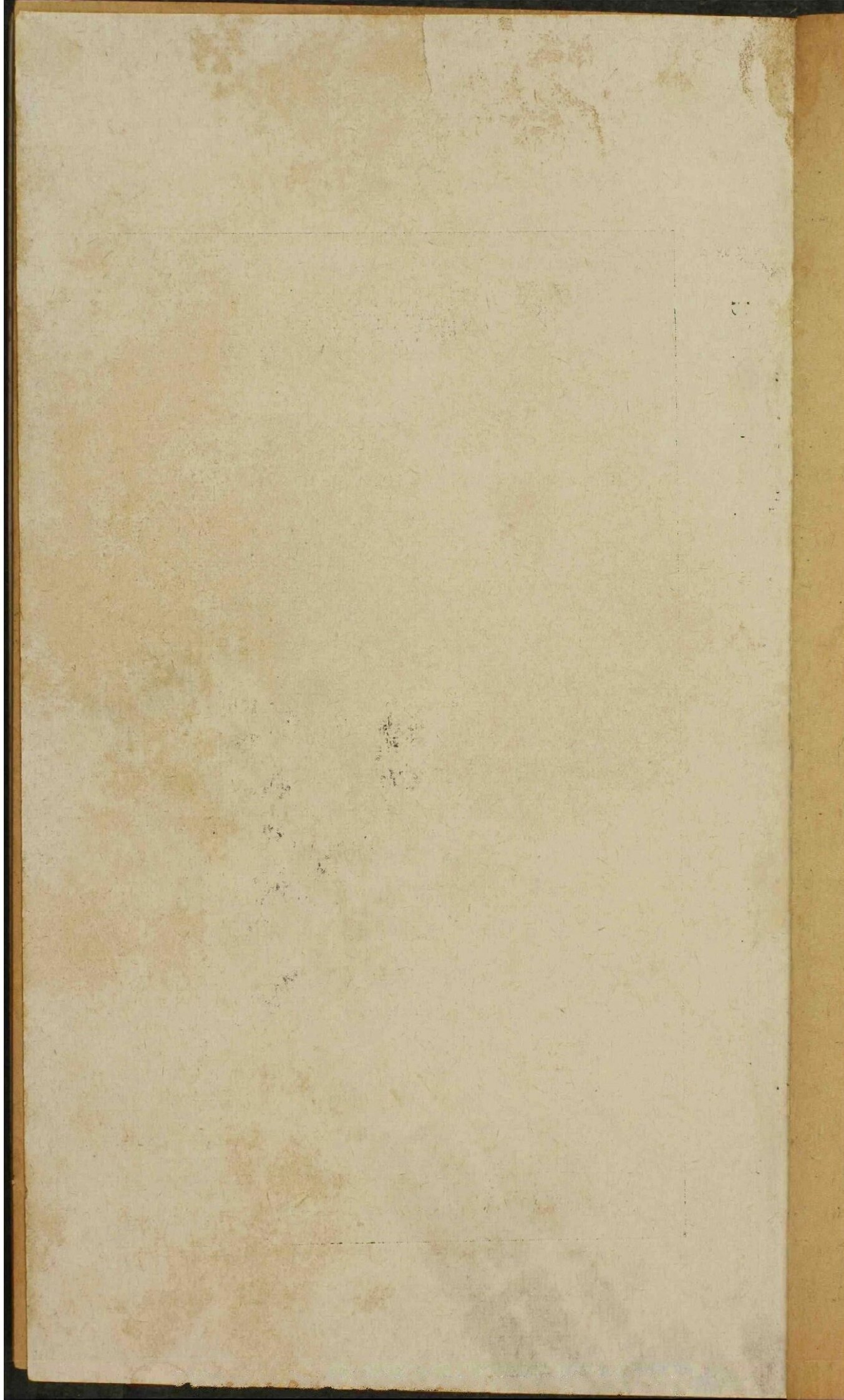
(b) A Hindu-Sikh convoy was attacked near Backoki (W.P.)

October 22.—Mr. Jinnah made another mischievous and venomous statement on his two-nation theory of Muslims and Pakistan, by which he intensified the feelings of hate and animosity between Hindus and Muslims and India and Pakistan.

Regarding the future of Pakistan he observed:— "Pakistan would never surrender and never agree in any shape and form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign States with one common fate. We must try to



Dead bodies of Hindus and Sikhs, removed from the train which was attacked at Kamoki, being deposited for cremation after taking them out from the loaded trucks.



stop any effort or attempt in that direction.

Regarding the two-nation theory he remarked,

"The two-nation theory is not a theory but a fact.

The division of India is based on that fact and what is more, that fact has been proved, beyond doubt, by the ugly deplorable events of the past two months, and by the action of the dominion of India in pulling out Hindus from Pakistan as Nationals."

Regarding the communal trouble he, in his usual dishonest and insincere ways uttered in his pet words "The communal trouble is well planned, well organised and well directed with the object to paralyse the new-born dominion of Pakistan. There is only one remedy now left; that is for the Indian Dominion to deal ruthlessly with this diabolical conspiracy and extirpate the roots of the plot and the powerful men who are behind the organisation." He missed to clarify which organisation planned so and which was to be exterminated. If the Indian Government itself did it

how could it exterpate itself? Obviously Mr. Jinnah was talking wildly and fitfully.

He gave a plain reply to Indian Muslims and disappointed them. He said,

"Indian propaganda is giving on that they (Muslim Minorities in India) have been let down by the Muslim League and that Pakistan is indifferent to what may happen to them." They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities. He admonished the Indian Muslims in these words "They should not in their diversity be led away to mischievous propaganda of interested parties and hold the Muslim League and its leaderships responsible for all these tribulations. They must hold on to their posts and Pakistan. I can assure them, I will not be a mere spectator of their sufferings. We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do every thing in our power to avert the danger that they are facing."

Concerning the Muslim League he told the Indian Muslims as. "The Muslim League has already achieved its mission"

its fundamental object - which was to establish the independent state of Pakistan. The remaining aims and objects of the Muslim League are very general i. e. to protect and to advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Musalmans and the communities of India and to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the mussalmans of India and those of other countries." Mr Jinnah obviously having ruined them by misleading and using them for his selfish purposes wished further to dupe and mislead them.

October 23.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked near Jassar (W.P.)

October 24.—Tribesmen started trouble in Kashmir State.

October 28.—Once again there were reports of refugees coming to India being searched and deprived of property, personal effects and jewelry. On captain Mallk while evacuating his men from Jhang was not allowed by the Police and the D. C. of the place to take away his things, At Shalimar post he was searched and

deprived of things including jewelry worth Rs. 3,00,000 and given no receipt.

October 29.—In connection with the Jassar Train killing Mr Suhrawardy observed :-

“This new attack on the refugees (Hindu and Sikhs) is atrocious beyond measure. This attack is certainly jeopardising the lives of the refugees in East Punjab and elsewhere. It is shocking to contemplate that Muslims elsewhere will have to answer for the crimes of the Muslims of West Punjab.

Oct. 30.—Mahatma Gandhi said in his post prayer speech that India did right in sending troops to defend Kashmir.

The Pakistan Government characterised accession of Kashmir to India as based on fraud and violence.

Oct. 31.—In the evening, at Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

November 3.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked near Phullarwan (W.P.)

November 6.—A truck caravan of Hindus and Sikhs was attacked near Mangtanwala (Lyallpur, W.P.) After the Hindus and the Sikhs had been

compelled to leave Pakistan the Harijans began to be persecuted and maltreated. They now began to desert Pakistan. But the Pakistan authorities would not allow them go away. For Example in Baluchistan trains bringing non-Muslim refugees were searched for Harijans and they were forcibly pulled out. Nearly 150 non-Muslims who boarded a refugee train under permits issued by Military Officers of the Indian Union in Quetta were reported to have been arrested. Among them were women, children, Government servants and the manager and accountant of the Punjab National Bank, Quetta. They were arrested and put in the lock up. Not only this much, there were cases of conversion of Harijans in Pakistan. Regarding this Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour member, Government of India remarked on Dec. 2 that if Harijans could not live there with honour they must leave. He warned Pakistan that this action of Pakistan would mean serious implications as the whole affair was planned and not sporadic.

November 8.—The West Punjab Government now thought of confiscating the cash and jewelry of immense value deposited in

Punjab Safe Deposit Vaults at Lahore in the name of Hindus and Sikhs who had come over to India. It issued an order requiring owners and managers of safe deposit vaults to resume work by Nov. 20 failing which that Government (West Punjab) will take possession of the vaults. The Prime minister of India sent a telegram to the prime Minister of Pakistan indicating high handedness of the West Punjab Government in this matter as the conditions prevailing in Lahore were not favourable for Hindus and Sikhs to go and work there and because the number of Muslim depositors was less than 5 percent. There was no reply to this telegram. The Indian Prime Minister sent another telegram of the same nature to the Pakistan Prime Minister but that too failed to bring any reply. The Hindu Sikh depositors, 100 in number, were then sent to Lahore under Military escort to take delivery of their deposits on Nov. 20. But they were humiliated and insulted by the Pakistan Police and authorities and were forced to redeposit, their valuables.

November 25. A Hindu Sikh refugee camp was attacked at Muzaffargarh. (W.P.)

November 27.—It was stated by the Secretary of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation that 38 Lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs had been evacuated from Pakistan.

November 29.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked near Mari Indus (W.P.)

December 8.—Mr J. N. Mandal, Minister of Law, Pakistan, in an interview said that he had made a strong representation to the Sind Premier against the Sind Government's harsh policy towards Harijans which brought about migration of Harijans from Sind.

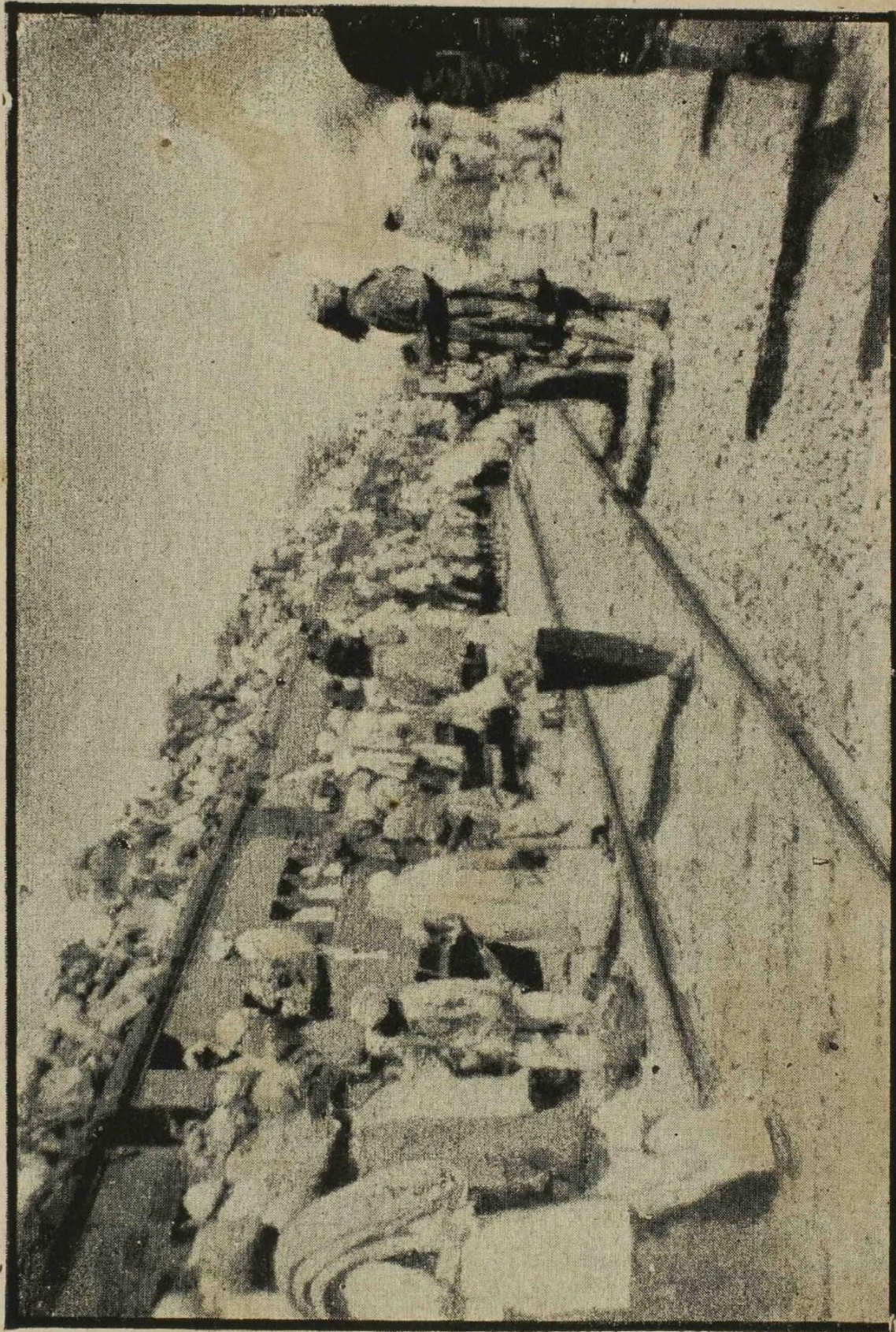
December 15:—The Council of the All-India Muslim League in a meeting held at Karachi decided to split the Muslim League into two bodies, one for Pakistan and the other for India. This was done because the more firebrand and avowedly-anti-Indian Leaguers of Pakistan could not and would not go to India to guide the Indian Muslims. The League was kept up in India because it was thought desirable by the High Command which included Mr Jinnah, Mr Liaqat and Co., to make the Indian Muslims feel that they had deeper relations with the Muslims of Pakistan rather than with the other Indians which

is the conception of the two-nation theory.
This is nothing short of inciting Indian
Muslims to be disloyal to their country.

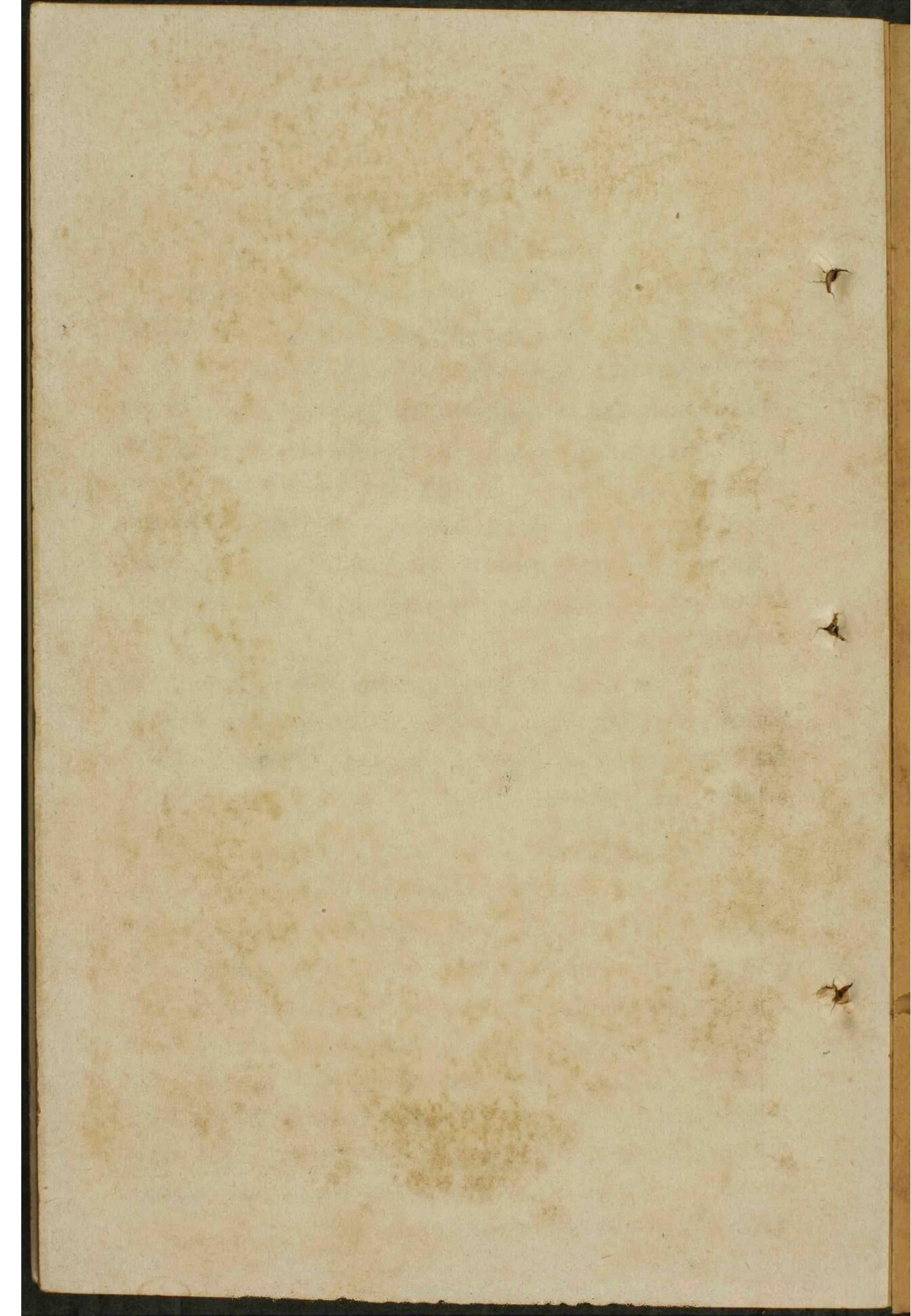
January 8.—Karachi Massacre of Hindus and Sikhs
(Pakistan).

January 12 —A Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked
at Gujrat (W.P.)

January 22.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee camp at Parachinar
was attacked (Pakistan).



The displaced persons moving away in great discomfort.



CHAPTER VI

Trains attacked and Refugees killed and looted.

1. March 5.—A passenger train coming from Pathankot was halted outside Amritsar, near Sharifpura, by a Muslim mob. The mob entered the train and asked Hindus and Sikhs to come outside. As soon as they came outside the mob fell upon them and butchered them. Some ran away and saved themselves. Those Hindus and Sikhs who did not come out were pierced by swords and lances. About 100 persons were killed and an equal number injured.

2. August 11—A train coming from Rawalpindi side stopped near Badami Bagh. A Muslim mob entered the train and killed about 200 helpless Hindu-Sikh men, women and children.

3. August 23.—The Down Sind Express when it left Gujrat was attacked by a Muslim mob armed with axes and knives. The mob repeatedly stopped it by pulling the communication chord and visited each compartment in train, pulling out Hindus and Sikhs and ruthlessly butchering them. Sometimes crimes were committed while the train was moving and sometimes in the presence of Muslims who rushed towards the line from the countryside whenever a stop was made. This went on for a long time till all Hindus and Sikhs, men, women and children had been slaughtered.

Once the train stopped at a wayside station when no more victims remained for the sacrifice, and the murderers apologised to their coreligionists on the platform for the zeal which left them no one to kill.

4. August 30.—A big mob looted and set fire to a goods train carrying household goods and property of Pakistan consisting of 20 wagons at Bahadargarh Railway Station. Thirty wagons were completely burnt and the remaining 20 were saved in a half burnt condition.

5. September 2.—A passenger train on the Jodhpur Railway line was attacked near Nawab Shah (Sind) and 15 Hindus and Sikhs were killed, 12 wounded and 4 were missing. The rails were removed and the train derailed.

6. September 4.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train coming from Pakistan and proceeding to Hoshiarpur was fired at by the Pakistan troops on its way to Pakistan, near the Beas Railway Station. Two hundred persons were killed.

7. September 8.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train proceeding towards India from Sialkot was attacked near Pasrur (W. P.) by a Muslim mob. Indiscriminate fire was opened on it. Several casualties was the result.

8. September 11.—A Hindu-Sikh special train leaving Chuharkana for Amritsar was attacked at Sheikhpura (W.P.) by a Muslim mob 10,000 strong but fortunately at the nick of the moment, owing to the arrival of the Sikh Military, there was no casualty.

9. September 11.—A train carrying Hindu-Sikh

refugees left Chubrkana at 11-30 p.m. Near the Shahdara Station (W.P.) the train was halted and searched by Muslim police and Military, along with the mob, from inside and the roof. The Passengers were asked to stay outside. Then their arms were seized and they were deprived of their money, clothes and Radios. The woman Police of Pakistan, deprived the women passengers of their ear-rings, bangles, necklaces, etc. It was a big load of jewelry that the women lost. A number of young ladies were deprived of the clothes they were wearing and made naked and pierced in at their breasts and private parts by the rioters. Even after such brutal searches the train was stopped for hours. The passengers were not allowed to drink water. It was after much remonstrance that the train started but made a dead stop at Lahore station. There even the passengers were not allowed any water, to say nothing of food. The driver would not run the train. A Sikh Military man happened to arrive at the station and he wired to Amritsar from where an engine was immediately despatched. On hearing the report of the arrival of this engine the driver of the train at once ran it and brought it to Amritsar.

10. September 13.—A Hindu-Sikh train coming from Wazirabad to Sialkot was stopped on the way and general slaughter took place. (See Sialkot account).

11. September 13.—A Hindu-Sikh train proceeding

to Jammu from Sialkot was derailed near Sialkot and several persons were killed. (see Sialkot account.)

12. Peptember 13.—A Muslim refugee train from Kapurthala was derailed near Chheharta (E.P.) and attacked by Hindus and Sikhs. The escort of the train fired in reply. Five Muslims died because of derailment and 19 died of bullet wound when the mob attacked the train.

13. September 15.—A train from Wazirabad was stopped near Sialkot and a large number of Hindus and Sikhs were slain. (See Sialkot account).

14. September 16.—A train coming from Sacha Sauda and full of Hindu and Sikh refugees was halted near Shahdara (W.P.) and attacked by a Muslim mob. Two hundred people were done to death and many young girls abducted.

15. September 16.—A train coming from Mian Channu was stopped at Raiwind (W.P.) and Lahore for three nights and no water was allowed to the refugees. Many children died as the result.

16. September 18.—A train carrying Hindu and Sikh refugees, coming from Wazirabad was stopped on the way before it reached Sialkot. It was attacked by a Muslim mob and many men, women and children were killed. Some of the bodies were thrown into the Upper Chenab Canal and the rest taken out at Sialkote.

17. September 22.—A train leaving Kapurthala

for Pakistan was attacked on the way near Amritsar railway station. About 600 men, women and children were killed. Seven young Girls were abducted. A Muslim girl who was being carried away by a Sikh on his shoulder killed him with her dagger. She was in return killed by other men of the mob.

This train was carrying away by force 25 Hindus whom the Muslim refugees rounded up at Kapurthala.

18. September 24 —A train full of Hindu and Sikh refugees leaving Pind Dadan Khan (W.P.) at 3 p.m. on September 23, was stopped by a Muslim mob including police between Chalisa and Haripur. Five hundred persons were killed and sixty girls were abducted at Kamoke (W.P.) on September 24 at 8 a.m. The mob then started searching the train and took away all licensed arms and even sticks. When the authorities of the train were approached to start the train lest it should be attacked they demanded Rs. 15,000/-. The money was collected forthwith and given over to the Muslim military escort at 10 a.m. But the train did not start. At about mid-day a mob numbering ten thousand collected there and attacked the train. Many casualties took place. About 400 young girls were removed forcibly. At that moment a Hindu-Sikh convoy, escorted by Sikh military, reached the spot by chance. The mob noticing this ran away and the train started. It was taken to Dinga where all the dead bodies were removed and thrown into a pond. It then reached Moghalpura straight without stopping at Lahore.

Meanwhile many children had died for want of water. Here the survivors were asked to move into another train in order to remove all traces of blood from the floor of the wagons due to the slaughter. This train was once again stopped at Harbanaspura where the Muslim police and troops started firing, killing about 400 persons. At this stage some troops arrived on the scene and the mob melted away and the train started, reaching Attari at 10 p.m. on September, 27.

19. September 24 —A special train carrying Pakistan troops, leaving Meerut on September 24, arrived at Amritsar at 8 p.m. the same evening. When the train left Amritsar, it was derailed about half a mile from the railway station. Immediately shots were fired on the train and the military personnel replied to it. After about four hours' duel the train was pulled back to the railway station. It reached Lahore next day at 4 p.m. Two of the soldiers in the train were killed and one injured.

20. October, 10.—A train from Lalamusa, carrying Hindu and Sikh refugees was attacked near Shahdara (W.P.) by a Muslim mob. Two men of the military escort and three refugees were killed and five were wounded.

21. October 21.—A Muslim refugee train from Simla was attacked 9 miles from Kalka by an armed mob of Hindus and Sikhs. One person was killed and seven injured.

22. October, 23.—In connection with evacuation from Sialkot by trains, it was settled between the two Governments that the trains were to come via Lahore, as the Ravi bridge near Dera Baba Nanak was damaged owing to floods. A train, carrying 3,000 Hindu-Sikh refugees started from Sialkot on October 23, and was coming to Dera Baba Nanak. The bridge being damaged the refugees were detained at Jassar (W.P.). From there they were escorted by their military. Before they reached the bridge a Muslim mob including police and Military men attacked them. One thousand were killed, eight hundred wounded and two hundred and fifty girls were abducted. The attack lasted for four hours. The escort consisted of 3 Sikhs, 8 Gurkha and 36 Ballochis. The Sikh Military men were killed and the Gurkha was injured. None of the Ballochis suffered.

23. November 3.—Hindu-Sikh refugee train was attacked near Phullarwan by Pakistanis, resulting in about 10 deaths and 20 injured. The Indian Military with the train drove away the raiders and inflicted heavy casualties on them.

24. November 29.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee train left Bannu on November 28. When it neared at Mary Indus it was stopped suddenly by the driver, whereupon a Muslim mob, 600 strong attacked it. The escort of the train opened fire on the attackers and they left, losing two lives. When the train reached Daud Khel it was derailed but fortunately there was no casualty. It was delayed for 5 hours. It reached Amritsar on December 2.

25. January 12.—A train full of Hindus and Sikhs, numbering 2400 left Bannu on January 11. It was escorted by a V.C.O. and 60 other ranks of the Bihar Regiment. They were some of the wealthiest people of Bannu and they were carrying with them huge jewelry and cash. An organised effort was made to kill men and children, abduct away women and loot cash and jewelry. The train reached Gujrat at 7-30 p.m. and was stopped there. At 2 a.m. a mob of Pathans and Muslims collected at the station and attacked the train by opening fire on it. The escort returned the fire and exchange of fire went on for 6 hours till at 8 a.m. the escort exhausted its ammunition. During this interval none of the refugees was killed. When the fire of the escort was silenced, the mob rushed on the train and massacred the refugees. Some refugees left the train during the attack and ran into neighbouring fields for cover. Over 1000 were killed, hundreds of women were abducted and 38 of the escort also were killed and over one crore of rupee cash and jewelry were looted.

REFUGEE CAMPS ATTACKED

September 30.—At Sacha Sauda (W.P.) the Hindu-Sikh refugee camp which contained about 50,000 refugees had very poor water, ration and sanitation arrangements. The Balloch Military and Additional Police every day would hunt down about fifteen persons on one plea or the other and this practice continued for a week.

October 1.—A non-Muslim refugee camp at Tandlianwala, in Lyallpur district (W.P.) was attacked by a Muslim mob on October 1. The loss was 115 killed and 46 wounded.

October 1.—An attack was made on a Hindu-Sikh refugee camp at Lyallpur, Khalsa College by an armed mob, on the night of October 1-2. Casualties were 500 killed and 150 wounded, at the lowest estimate. Much valuable property was looted. At least 200 young girls were abducted.

October 2.—A Hindu-Sikh refugee camp at Lyallpur Arya School was attacked on October 2. The number of casualties was very high, more than 500 killed and about 300 wounded.

November 25.—A non-Muslim refugee camp at Muzaffargarh was attacked by a Muslim mob on November 25. It is reported that only eight persons were killed and a few injured.

January 22.—A non-Muslim refugee camp at Paraehinar was attacked by 2000 tribesmen most of whom were mangals and 121 refugees were killed and 45 wounded and 75 women and children were kidnapped.

Before the happening the refugees sent requests to the Indian Union Government to have them evacuated. The Government

of India then wrote to the Pakistan Government to arrange for their evacuation. The refugees (1100) were concentrated in a camp. The Pakistan Government there after wrote back to the Government of India that there is no danger. The refugees houses were burnt and looted and they were told that everything was all right in Parachinar and they could go back safely to their homes. They refused to go. The camp was then declared to have been dissolved. The next day attack was made on them. The survivors were then sent to India. The Hindu Pathans had been living in Parachinar for centuries.

CONVOYS ATTACKED AND LOOTED AND CASUALTIES INFLICTED.

August 24. — A Hindu-Sikh convoy of 60 trucks, coming from Sialkot, and escorted by Muslim Military, was stopped by a huge Muslims mob near Shahdra on August 24. About 1600 refugees, men, women and children met their death. Only 8 trucks, which were in the front, could escape. This affair was arranged by the Muslim Military escort. It was brought to the notice of the Pakistan Government by the Indian Government.

September 10.—A convoy of 2000 Hindus and Sikhs in 82 Military trucks left Mandi Baha-ud-Din on September 9. When it reached Kunjah on September 9, after two days of journey it was attacked by a Muslim mob that appeared all at once from the bushes. But the mob was repulsed with some loss when the Military escort fired on them. The mob re-appeared and attacked the trucks that formed the tail of the convoy. Some casualties took place. When the convoy passed through Mozang (Lahore) it was attacked for the third time by a huge mob, but when the escort threatened to open fire the effervescence of the mob settled down and the convoy reached Amritsar.

September 16:—A convoy of non-Muslims consisting of military men and civilians was attacked by an armed Muslim gang on Sept. 16 near Attock. Nine Civilians were killed and 60 wounded. Military casualties were 3 killed and 2 wounded.

September 17:—A convoy coming on foot from Sialkot side and consisting of 30,000 people was attacked at several places while on its way to India via Narowal and Dera Baba

Nanak. It lost on the way more than 2000 men, women, and children.

September 17:—A Muslim convoy 10,000 strong from Kapurthala was attacked by a mob near Moga. About 300 were wounded and many killed. About 200 girls were abducted but were later handed over.

September 18:—A convoy of about 25,000, coming from Okara towards the East Punjab met on the way a train carrying Muslim refugees. The train was manned by Muslim Military. It began to fire on the convoy which had only 5 military men of Rajput Regiment. About 100 men of the convoy were killed.

September 20:—A convoy of 500 Sikhs was taken from Nowshera to Wah Camp under Military escort. Near Khairabad it was attacked by Muslims and finished up.

September 27:—A convoy going from Sargodha towards the Lyallpur refugee camp was attacked by an armed mob just before it arrived Lyallpur. The Muslim Military cooperated with the mob. Much damage was done to the convoy.

September 27:—A refugee column of Sikhs numbering 90,000 was searched at Balloki Head and the refugees were deprived of their arms.

valuables and ration, When the Government of India came to know of this it protested to Pakistan and at once arranged to send chapaties by air, which were dropped at Chunian.

September 27 :—In a foot convoy 100,000 Muslim refugees moved through Amritsar to Lahore on Sept. 27 and 28. The column was attacked once at a place nine miles West of Amritsar by armed villagers. Refugee casualties were 45 killed and 25 wounded. The raiders were engaged by a tank which was part of the escort. Six raiders were killed. These persons were arrested at the spot. As a result of investigations, the villages from which the attackers came were identified and collective fines were imposed on them.

[October 1 :—A refugee convoy of lorries carrying Hindus and Sikhs from Lakki to Bannu was fired at, two miles from Lakki. Casualties were 30 killed and 19 wounded.

October 4 :—A Muslim foot-convoy from Qadian to Batala was attacked on October 4. The escorting troops opened fire, and shot 25 of the attackers dead and wounded many. Casualties among the refugees numbered 40 killed and wounded.

October 4 :—A Muslim refugee column was attacked thrice. In each case the Military escort opened fire and dispersed the gangs. Twenty one refugees were killed in two of the attacks, there being no casualty in the third. Fifteen of the attackers also were killed.

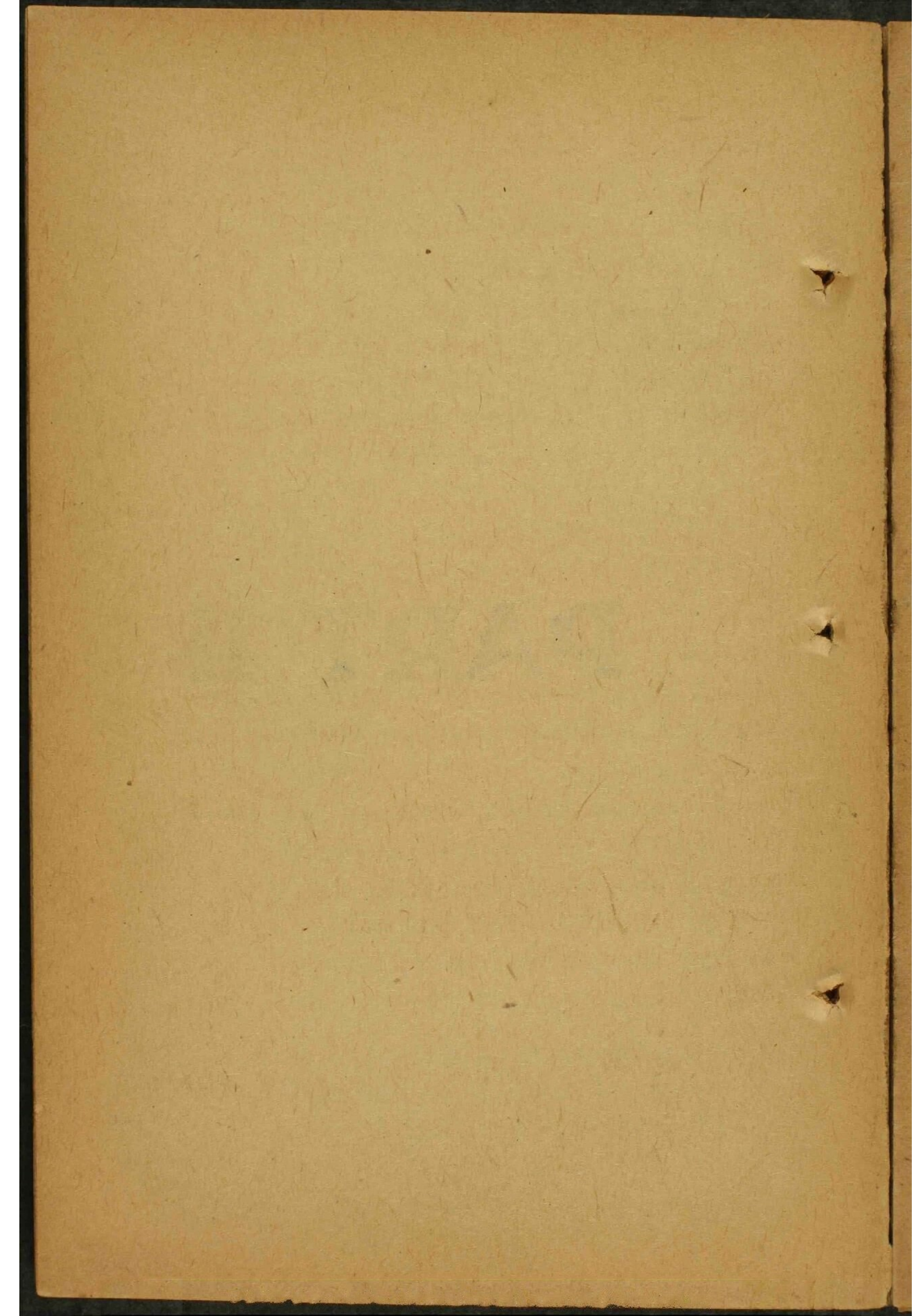
October 13 :—A non-Muslim foot convoy numbering 2400 was attacked by a Muslim mob near Jhelum. About 500 refugees were killed and many of the survivors were wounded. Much money and jewelry fell into the hands of the attackers.

October 13:— A column of Muslim Refugees trekking on unbeaten tracks was waylaid and divested of valuables and cash amounting to Rs. 20 lakhs.

October 21:— A Hindu-Sikh convoy consisting of 32 lorries escorted by the military was attacked at Backoki, between Jaranwala and Lahore at 2' clock in the night, by a military lorrey belonging to Pakistan. One sepoy and 2 refugees were killed.

November 6 :— A caravan of 4 trucks carrying about 80 Hindus from Lyallpur to India, was attacked and looted by a gang of Pathans near Mangtanwala, about 50 miles from Lyallpur, at midnight.

PART II



ATTOCK DISTRICT

The district of Attock like the districts of Rawalpindi, Mianwali and Jhelum suffered heavily in the month of March as a result of the concerted efforts of the League leaders to kill and ruin the Hindus and Sikhs of the districts. In this district the population of Hindus and Sikhs according to the census of 1941 was 64747 out of the total population of 675,875 i.e. 96 percent.

The flames of savagery and brutality were kindled in the district on the 6th and taken to the different tehsils. It was the tehsil of Pindigheb that first witnessed the killing and destruction of non-Muslims. Shops were looted and burnt down. Residential quarters came in next. All who came across the way of the hooligans were done to death by axes and clubs. Men, women and children were mercilessly butchered. Simultaneously the trouble was raised in the tehsil of Chountra. Here many cases of loot, arson and killing took place.

By now the trouble had started in all tehsils of the district. Fatehjang and Talagang fared very badly. The villages of Basal, Jand and Adhal were burnt down and levelled to the ground. The loss of life was very heavy. Many cases of abduction, forced marriages, and conversions took place besides the molestation of fair girls. Several cases of burning alive of Hindus and Sikhs also happened.

In this district the local goondas were helped by the frontier Pathans who lived in the contiguous territory. The trouble, hence, in this district was considerably prolonged. The military was sent to this district in fairly large number and it was then that the situation was brought under control by the 24th of March.

Many Hindus and Sikhs of the district deserted their homes and concentrated in refugee camps of Wah and Panja-Sahib from where they gradually moved to the East Punjab, very few were left behind who could not leave the district.

By August 15 the Hindu Sikh population of the district had considerably reduced. Those unfortunate people who were yet living there and preferred to continue to live there were gradually converted on pain of death. The rest were disturbed at the end of September when wholesale massacre and killing took place. The survivors were evacuated to the East Punjab by trains and trucks,

BALUCHISTAN.

The Honourable Sir Geoffrey Prior, K.C.I.E., agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, made the following statement on September 6 on the communal rioting in Quetta :—

"When I hoisted the Pakistan flag on August 15, I firmly believed that I was inaugurating a new era in which Baluchistan could look forward to an age of peace, prosperity and advancement. I did not realise that in their hearts some among us were looking forward to a state of Qatalistan that would disgrace humanity. Among the reasons given for the series of foul outrages which took place a fortnight ago is the arrival of refugees from East Punjab, many of whom were stated to be suffering from wounds inflicted by the other community. Though a few refugees have certainly arrived here, the rumour that many of them had been wounded is totally without foundation and not one of them has approached any hospital for treatment. While it is very sad that these persons should have been made to leave their homes—and we must sympathise with them in their losses—there was no reason to make this the basis of a series of outrages, which cannot but inflame the public and cause further repercussions in areas where Muslims are in a minority. Another reason appears simply to have been to drive out the minority community and enjoy the fruits of the business which they have built up through many years. The attitude of these persons to my mind is like that of a loathsome

vulture who sits by a dying animal waiting to pick its bones."

The Hindus and Sikhs of Baluchistan had co-operated in the Pakistan celebration on August 15, by hoisting Pakistan flags and illuminating Quetta. They presented a silken Pakistan flag to the Muslim League as a token of their loyalty. They were given assurance that nothing untoward would happen in Quetta. But they little imagined what was in store for them in near future.

The massacre and looting in Quetta started at about 9 p.m. on August 20. On this day a dinner was arranged at Brown Gymkhana in celebration of Pakistan Independence Day and prominent Muslims were the guests at this dinner. Qazi Isa, the president of Baluchistan Muslim League, and some other Muslim citizens were absent. The attack on this dinner party started when the first course was being served.

The attackers had equipped themselves with jeeps and lorries, petrol, kerosene and fire-arms including pistols. Fires were started in Quetta simultaneously covering an area of three square miles. The mob consisted mainly of punjabi Muslims, who came from all parts of the town and divided themselves into small groups. They started on the job of setting fire to Sikh Gurdwaras and other places of worship.

The whole campaign was conducted methodically and under supervision of gang leaders who were moving up

and down in cars.

Quetta was all on fire on the night of August 20. But the Muslims were carefully evacuated from the town by the mob by means of transport lorries. The Quetta police not only failed to discharge its duty but actually, in many cases, abetted the murder and arson. The municipality even failed in its duty in not running its water mains and not using its fire-brigades to extinguish the fire.

The Military arrived at 3 a.m. but they did not help the people. They merely stood by. Once again the round of murders and loot started on the same organised Level at 9-30 a.m. on August 21. Once again the police and military stood by while havoc was being done. Curfew was imposed at 3 p.m. Many houses and shops were looted and burnt on the night of August 20 and August 21. In several cases the occupants were forced to remain inside and were burnt alive.

The massacre was not confined only to the town of Quetta alone. It spread out to several smaller places surrounding Quetta, to Hudda, Pishin, and Bostan. At Hudda that contained 100 Hindus and 80 Sikhs many were done to death and the rest converted to Islam. At Pishin about 126 Hindus and Sikhs were killed. At Bostan at least 87 Hindus and Sikhs, including government and railway officials, were killed. Similar massacre was committed at Killa Abdulla, Gulistan and Kuchlak. The total casualty was 1,000 killed and

about the same number wounded. Regarding the loss of property, about 70 per cent of the non-Muslim shope in Quetta alone were looted and burnt and about 30 per-cent houses burnt. The loss was many crores of rupees.

BAHAWALPUR STATE.

The Bahawalpur State, though not included in the Punjab proper and not affected by the division of the country, and the Radcliffe award yet experienced communal disturbances. The tragic story of the Bahawalpur massacre runs as follows. On Aug 18 killing of Hindus and Sikhs started in the State and many incidents took place in the train, all over the State. On Aug 19, 50 Sikhs coming from Bhatinda were killed inside the train on the railway station of Bahawalnagar. After this the killing movement gathered momentum in the town of Bahawalnagar and on August 20, within two hours, about 6000 Hindus and sikhs met their death. Many women were molested and raped and many were abducted away. Many Hindus and Sikhs, out of fear, became Mohammadans. Prof. Karm Chand, along with his wife, one young daughter, and one son was burnt alive.

After this the flames of communal madness flared up so much that all the villages and towns around Bahawalnagar were severely affected. There was wholesale massacre in Hasalpur. Chistian, Khairpur and Rahim yar Khan. Many Hindus and Sikhs were cut up limb by limb. In the presence of men their wives were married to Muslims and many young women had to see their husbands being killed.

These horrible deaths created much unrest in the town of Bahawalpur which so far had remained unaffected. The news of the tragic happenings in the state was conveyed to the Indian Government. On September 8, Mr. Short arrived in Bahawalpur on behalf of the Indian Government. He met the Prime Minister, who is a confirmed Leaguer, and some public representatives and went back.

On September 13 a rumour was set afloat in the town of Bahawalpur that killing and looting of Hindus and Sikhs would start there at night. A deputation of Hindus and Sikhs waited upon the District Magistrate who assured them that nothing would happen there. A few days prior to this Kuchabandi was banned in the town and many freshly built gates were demolished.

At 10 p.m. on Sept. 13, two explosions took place in the town and a Muslim mob, according to plan, entered the streets and bazars. Hell was let loose in the town and the devil danced naked. Many met their death most cruelly. At 12 curfew was imposed. The Military and the police freely looted the town and costly things were conveyed to the officials. Mahasha Anand Verma, President Hindu Mahasabha, was slain. Many other workers of the Sabha were also killed. All this was done during curfew hours.

After the curfew hours when the Hindus and Sikhs

came out they were fired at and about 2200 were the casualties. Sikhs specially were singled out and done to death. Women were insulted and humiliated openly in the bazars. This went on till September 15.

On September 16 there was another plan to start killing. But fortunately as a result of the efforts of Mr. Marn, the Revenue Minister, the plan did not mature. He had some Muslim goondas shot down and this had a salutary effect. It was arranged to concentrate the Hindus and Sikhs in the Central Goal. The military looted the refugees to their heart's content. It was with the efforts of Menta Nand Kishore that the Hindu and Sikh refugees were evacuated from Bahawalpur town. But he himself in the end was shot down by the Muslim military and his belongings were looted.

Out of one lakh Hindu-Sikh population of Bahawalpur about 50,000 were killed.

Some of the Hindus and Sikhs who remained in the State and could not and would not like to be evacuated had to meet extreme hardships and their lives were constantly in danger. Killing went on till December. Thirty Hindus were killed on December 9 in Ahmedpur Lama, when an attack by 50 armed pathans, led by a Sub-Inspector of police, was made on the bazar of the town. On December 12 a passenger lorrey carrying Hindu refugees from

Loralai, was attacked by a party of 300 armed Muslims and looted. At many other places also in the State, armed gangs were moving about and clearing away the Hindus and Sikhs and looting them.

According to the statement of Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime-Minister of India on Nov. 21, the non-muslim population of the state ought to be 270,000. Out of this population between 70,000 and 80,000 had been evacuated as a result of disturbances in the State. The number left behind was stated to be in the neighbourhood of 70,000. This left over 100,000 unevacuated for. The information is that overwhelming majority of their number was either killed or forcibly converted during and after these disturbances.

GUJRAT DISTRICT

The district of Gujrat, which is the district of Mr Ghazanfar Ali, the most vocal leader of the League, came into the grip of lawlessness and brutality soon after Pakistan was created.

The first place where the mob fury went up was Jalalpur Jattan, four miles distant from Gujrat. A Muslim mob about 20,000 strong on August 17 attacked the town and looted the main bazar and afterwards burnt it down. About 110 Hindus and Sikhs including men, women and children were burnt alive and about 700 more killed and wounded.

The mob then attacked the village of Kotla, a near by village. The same thing happened there also and 100 persons met their doom.

Other mobs on the same day attacked Gujrat and Lalamusa. The prosperous mandi of Gujrat, a Hindu property, was looted and completely burnt down. It is nothing but a heap of rubbles now. Several persons laid down their lives.

The big town of Bhera was disturbed on Aug 29. First of all 4 Sikhs going about in the bazar were stabbed. Panic spread in the town and the Hindu Bazar was closed. After this mob collected and went on swelling. Some Hindus and Sikhs thereupon attempted to leave the town by rushing towards the station to catch a train.

They were shot down by the mob. The situation became all the worse. Some Hindus and Sikhs approached the League leader of the place imploring him to save them. He told them that he could not do anything and asked them to leave his premises. Few minutes afterwards the whole town was attacked by a huge mob. Many were the casualties. Many young women were carried away and many raped.

Soon afterwards villages like Kholi, Gakhra, Dotheran, Thattapur, were attacked and looted. Many Hindus and Sikhs were killed and many were converted forcibly. Sikhs in these villages were the special targets of the mob frenzy.

The disturbances in the district lasted pretty long. The military and the police freely participated in the killing and looting. The town of Gujrat also experienced horrible carnage and destruction. Many wealthy people were killed and ruined. The town of Malikwal was ransacked and razed to the ground. The people then collected in Mandi Bahaud-Din from where they were evacuated after much loss of life.

The town of Lalamusa was again disturbed on October 9. The local authorities got it announced in the town that at the Railway Station a train had arrived to take away Hindu-Sikh refugees to the East Punjab. The people packed up their luggage and at 5 p.m. started

going towards the station leaving their homes. As soon as they stepped out of doors they were fired upon by the Muslim military and the police. Looting was done by the military and the police and many girls and women were taken away. Cries of woe and curses from the afflicted rent the sky. It was a horrible scene of massacre and display of might. Those who survived reached the station. To their great dismay they found no train there. It was only the next day that a train arrived there and evacuated the woe-stricken people to Amritsar where they heaved a sigh of respite.

At Dinga the Muslims were incited in the month of March but fortunately nothing untoward happened then. On 11th March a Muslim mob 10,000 strong collected on the outside of the town but somehow it dispersed without causing any harm.

On Aug 18 a huge mob once again collected there but returned after doing its work of intimidating the Hindus and Sikhs of this place. Thereupon the League leaders assured Hindus and Sikhs that there would be no disturbances at all in Dinga. On Aug 31, the arm licences of all Hindus and Sikhs were confiscated. On Sept 4, the Sub-Inspector of Police of Dinga went to the D.C. of Jhelum, as rumoured, to consult him to draw up a programme for causing disturbances there with the idea of evicting Hindus and Sikhs and playing foul with them. At that time an unfounded rumour was set afloat that

the daughter of the D.C. had been abducted at Simla when his family was spending Summer season, his wife having managed to come back somehow or other, The Sub-Inspector called the leading Hindus and Sikhs and told them that in the evening he would get trucks for their evacuation to the East Punjab and they could take with them only a small bedding and a suit case. Accordingly they collected their belongings. There was no truck. On Sept 5 at 3 p.m. the town was surrounded by a huge mob that was beating drums and waving league flags. It attacked the town and went on killing, looting and burning Hindus and Sikhs, men, women and children. This state continued for 24 hours. Not less than 1500 persons were killed and 700 girls were taken away. About 250 of the looters were killed.

At 3 p m. the Police came and asked the Hindu Sikh survivors to come out of their hiding places and go to the refugee camp which had just been started. They went to a place which was called camp but there was no food, no water and no arrangement of any kind. It was only on Sept. 18 that the surviving Hindus and Sikhs, about 800 in number, formed a caravan and left for the East Punjab, bidding good bye to their ancestral homes.

More than 5000 people died in this district.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

The Hooliganism movement in this district started on Aug. 5. It took its birth in the town of Gujranwala where people had so far been leading a quiet and peaceful life.

On Aug. 5, the Muslims collected in large numbers and attacked the Hindu mohallas and bazars and set fire to a large number of shops and looted them. Along with it the mob indulged in stabbing and killing of Hindus and Sikhs and about 10 casualties took place. Curfew was enforced in the town. But the disturbances continued for a couple of days more even. The upshot of these disturbances was that the Hindus and Sikhs began evacuating the town fearing harsh treatment at the hands of the League Government in the West Punjab if the district of Gujranwala went to Pakistan.

The trouble then flared up in the villages and systematically they were cleared of Hindu and Sikh minorities.

The trouble once again rose in Gujranwala on Aug. 14 and it spread to the villages. The loss of life and property this time was very heavy.

Hafizabad, a big town of the district, was attacked on Aug. 14. Property worth about a crore of rupees was destroyed and a large number of deaths took place. The

trouble once more spread in this town on Sept. 9 and 10 when there was further loss of life of Hindus and Sikhs. At this time the police freely took part in loot and killing.

Wazirabad which was an important business and commercial centre and where knives, axes and spears were manufactured by Muslim workers and despatched to other places, all over India, experienced horrible scenes of brutality and savagery. The houses and shops of Hindus and Sikhs were made a bonfire of and they themselves were roasted inside alive. Killing was done most mercilessly and indiscriminately. The town was burnt to ashes and it was nothing but a vast cremation ground.

The village of Rampur and Veneke were also ruined and many people were killed,

It is estimated that in this district about 7000 deaths took place and over 1000 women were forcibly taken away besides a large number of conversions of Hindus and Sikhs.

JHANG DISTRICT

Before the middle of August Jhang was perfectly quiet. Hitherto the D.C. of the district was S. Narinder Singh. He opted for Hindustan and was transferred from the place in the second week of August. Mr. Zafar-ul-Haq took charge of the district. He was a weak man having little administrative and executive ability. Under him was a Muslim A.D.M. named Mohd Akhtar, who was known for his power of mischief and machinations. The S.P. of the district was Mr. G. Ryan, an Englishman very strict disciplinarian. The D.S.P. Raja Ahdur Rahman of the district was very corrupt.

After August 15 the two M.L.As, one of Jhang and the other of Chinot, both of whom belonged to Feroze Khan Noon's party, the A.D.M., the D.S.P. and the City Magistrate, Hasan Ahmed, planned to do mischief in Jhang. They met the S. P. and persuaded him to go to Lahore to enquire personally about the policy of the Government towards minorities of the district. The S.P. Mr. G. Ryan agreed to it and left Jhang on August 25 in the morning. Mubarak Shah M.L.A. of Jhang, had it announced in the villages of the district that from August 25 there would be no law and Government in the district and people would be free to do as they chose. They could loot Hindus and become rich and kill them which was their Islamic duty. On the 25th August the city magistrate and the D.S.P. both reached the bus stand and at once stopped

distribution of Petrol to all lorries and the transports service stopped. An announcement was made in the town that no Hindus and Sikh could remove anything from Jhang. Exactly at 11 o'clock a big mob collected in the town and started killing and looting of Hindus and Sikhs. This went on for the whole of 25th and 26th and about 1500 men, women and children were killed. Curfew was announced in the town but it all the more troubled Hindus and Sikhs as they could not assemble and were killed individually by the Muslim mob. The Police and Military both joined in loot and killing. A Hindu A. S. I. was burnt alive. The Inspector of Police, S. Gurdial Singh's house was looted and burnt. He wanted to have the event recorded in the Police station but was refused. A wireless message was sent to the S. P. at Lahore who came down and controlled the situation. The Hindu and Sikh Government officials, Gazetted officers and civilians concentrated in the Tehsil compound on 27th without any kind of property with them. Those who brought any valuables with them were forced by the police and military to hand over.

In the countryside many Hindus and Sikhs were burnt alive inside their houses. Many were forcibly converted. Many a young girl was taken away and many raped. The Hindu and Sikh police were disarmed on the 26th and many of them shot down at the spot.

From the concentration camps evacuation was

started by running refugee trains, after thoroughly searching them and snatching away their things, including money and jewelry. Captain Shah Sawar of 1/16 Punjab Regiment was in charge of refugee trains and all searches of refugees were made by his orders.

On September 7 the Governor and Mr. Ghazanfar Ali reached the place and told the authorities there that according to the agreement arrived at between India and Pakistan Government no searches at all were to be made thereafter. But on September 8 again searches of the refugee trains were sought to be made but 12 Sikh military men, who happened to be there would not allow it. They were challenged to a combat. The S. P. reached the railway station. On his arrival the D. S. P. and the Captain both slipped away. On being enquired both of them told him that the searches were made in obedience to the order of the A.D.M. The S. P. then told them that no searches of refugees would be done thereafter and any one who would do it would be shot.

Disturbances started simultaneously in Shorkot, Mianwali and Chinot where Hindus and Sikhs fell prey to the firing of the Muslim mob and their property was looted and villages were burnt and razed to the ground and hellish scenes enacted,

A Hindu tehsildar of Jhang District who belonged to Dehra Ghazi Khan and had opted for Pakistan on the day of the disturbances fled to Shorkot along with his wife and 8 children. He was accompanied by two Muslim

servants. At Shorkot a Muslim mob came upon him but his servants stood by his side and remonstrated with the mob saying that the Tehsildar was a good man and had chosen to serve Pakistan and hence should not be killed. But the mob cared little and killed him, his wife and children. A young daughter of his whose marriage had been fixed a day before was taken away by the mob. His servants were also killed.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

Very scanty information has reached the author about the district of Jhelum. It appears that the district was comparatively quiet and there was not much of killing and bloodshed of innocent people.

The lawlessness originated in the district first of all in the month of March. On the night of the 11th, an attempt was made to set fire to a Hindu building. But the fire was extinguished by the police. Next day a large crowd gathered at Sohawa but that too could not do much damage. The D. I. G. arrived there in time and ordered the police to fire on the crowd. A mob then attacked the village of Nila and Chakwal. The Hindus and Sikhs of the villages resisted and there was little loss of life and property. Thereafter quiet was restored in the district.

The district was once again disturbed in early September. Almost in every village mob collected and formented the minorities. Looting, burning and killing took place. Many Hindus and Sikhs were converted and many women were taken away. The worst brutalities took place in a small and important village of Lilla. Here the mob attacked and killed many Hindus and Sikhs. The survivors were coerced and tortured to become Muslims. The helpless people accepted Islam. A local Sikh Doctor who attempted to escape was way-laid and his wife and one daughter were killed, His other grown up educated daughter was abducted.

Jhelum town itself was attacked by a huge Muslim

mob on September 27 when the Sikh military there had just been replaced by the Muslim Military. Hindus and Sikhs resisted for some time but to no purpose. The Machine Mohalla was set on flames and about 700 Hindus and Sikhs died. The survivors were then evacuated to Bagh Mohalla and later on brought to India.

The surviving Hindus and Sikhs were rescued in the month of November. From this district more than 1000 women and girls were abducted.

The whole tehsil of Chakwal, it appears, remained singularly quiet during these days of trouble, and for this credit goes to a number of good-natured and godfearing persons. One Inspector of Police, named Chima, risked his life and reputation to protect Hindus and Sikhs. His guilt came before the authorities and he was degraded to the rank of Sub-Inspector of Police. Pir Vilait Shah of village Kansal is another good name who helped in keeping peace. A Major of village Udhawal and a Sub-Inspector of Police of village Narang are also worthy of mention in having done much useful work to preserve peace and order in the Tehsil

LAHORE.

Lahore played a very important part in the bloody drama. Being the capital of the Punjab and the seat of the Government important party and mixed-party conferences were held here and far-reaching decisions were taken.

The city of Lahore consists of two parts, the old one and the new. The old Lahore is encircled by the Circular Road and extends between the Railway Station, Anarkali and Dera Sahib. The Eastern and the Western ends of the city were occupied by Muslims while the middle was occupied by Hindus and Sikhs. The new Lahore consists of the localities of Anarkali, D. A. V. College side, Mohini Road, Krishan Nagar, Sant Nagar, Dharampura and Model Town which were populated by Hindus and Sikhs and Ichhra Muzang, Baghbanpura and Ravi Road, which were mainly populated by Muslims. There are the localities like Canal Park, Civil Lines and Lawrence Road that were mixed.

The city of Lahore is the place where the present Punjab disturbances started. After the resignation of Sir Khizar on March 2, and the Assembly meeting on March 3. Lahore was at once covered by curfew that lasted for a fort-night with an interval of relaxation of 2 hours everyday. This was meant to give people facilities for purchase of ration and other necessities of life. Some houses and shops were burnt in old

Anarkali and Bhati Gate. Some lives of Hindus and Sikhs were also lost on account of stabbing by the Muslim mob. Thereafter Lahore became quiet and remained so for a long time excepting for some occasional stray cases of stabbing and burning. Curfew even was relaxed considerably. The residents of Mohallas constructed kucha bandies for the sake of protection.

Towards the middle of May the Leaguers increased their activities and stabbing and burning again became frequent. This exasperated the Hindus and Sikhs who thought of taking revenge. They collected their resources and attacked the Rajgarh locality of Muslims and killed about a dozen and injured half as much again of them. This was followed by counter attacks by Muslims on Hindu and Sikh localities. There was quiet once again in Lahore. But now extensive searches were made in the city by the Magistracy which was predominated by Muslims and a large number of Hindus and Sikhs were arrested and detained. They applied for Habeas Corpus and many of them were set free. A Muslim Magistrate Mr M. G. Chima from Kucha Babian alone arrested seventy respectable Hindus and Sikhs, including seven respectable ladies whom he abused nakedly and got mishandled by the Muslim police. The arrested persons applied for Habeas Corpus and were set free by Mr Justice Teja Singh. Had the judge been not very lenient Mr Cheema could be hauled up for contempt of court. The Tribune of Lahore, a

well-known English daily of long standing enjoying reputation for its impartiality and fearlessness, published the proceedings of the case, but was hauled up by a Muslim judge of the High Court who was not at all connected with the case. When the fact was pointed out by the counsel of the Tribune Shri K. M. Munshi the contempt of court case was tried by three judges one of whom was Mr Justice Teja Singh. The editor and publisher of the Tribune were held guilty and fined Rs. 500/- each by two of these judges. Mr Justice Munir, a Muslim, and Mr Justice Carnallous, a Christian both of whom voted for Pakistan, while Mr. Teja Singh held them both as not guilty of contempt of Court.

The communal situation once again deteriorated on June 21. Huge columns of smoke rose from burning houses, in Mochi gate near, Lohari Mandi, and Bhati Gate, and Hindus and Sikhs sustained heavy loss. The situation grew more serious when a bomb exploded in Sabzi Mandi and a number of Muslims were injured. The police opened fire here and quiet was resumed. There were also a few stabbing cases in the city. Curfew was imposed in these affected areas.

On the 22nd of June, at night M. G. Cheema, expecting to come out unharmed from the High Court, with the help of armed Muslim Police and National Guards, burnt the Shahalmi Gate and Papar Mandi, the busy centre of the Hindu community, and razed them to the ground. He also

arrested 150 Hindus and Sikhs along with a lady and two children and made them sit in the sunshine on the pretext of interruption. Their houses were searched and they were taken in police custody. Bombs then exploded in Sabzi Mandi on Muslims causing death to 9 persons and injury to about thirty. A loss of over one crore of Rupees was caused to the Hindus and Sikhs of Lahore. In the subsequent few days more fires and stabbing took place. These events made Hindus and Sikhs of Lahore very panicky and many of them left the city. The Governor thereupon assembled the leaders of the city and appealed to them for peace. The result was that these leaders took a vow to stop lawlessness in the city and began to tour the mohallas requesting the people to live peacefully. These appeals had a salutary effect. But Sikhs and Hindus expecting Lahore to go into Pakistan began evacuating it and winding up their business there.

Towards the middle of July trouble again started in Lahore. A bomb was thrown by a Muslim on a Sikh party of workers in Moghalpura Workshop while they were enjoying recess from work at noon. Thereafter a free fight took place between Sikhs and Muslims and a large number on both sides were killed and wounded. Along with it stabbing also started. More bombs were thrown and more people were killed and injured. This state of affairs went on for the rest of the month of July.

From the beginning of the following month, that is August more military was drafted into the city and here

and there military pickets were stationed. But as August 15 drew nearer and nearer the stabbing of Hindus and Sikhs went up and they began to leave the city. Lahore being a big city and Hindus and Sikhs having immense interest in the economic, business, social and cultural life of the city, all of them would not leave it. They wanted to see the Radcliffe award of the boundary line between India and Pakistan. As soon as it was announced and Lahore was given to Pakistan they hurried to vacate the city leaving behind their valuable treasures which they amassed with the labour of several years.

After August 17, the city of Lahore which was the property of Hindus Sikhs, was converted into a slaughter house and loot and rape and rapine were freely perpetrated. Goondas had their way and the blood of innocent Hindus and Sikhs, especially the latter, flowed in abundance and cries of woe rent the sky. Even the honour of Muslims was not safe as the Government had abdicated to the forces of lawlessness and goondaism. Hindus and Sikhs who could not and would not like to leave Lahore for huge interests in business and property were ultimately displaced by the combined forces of goondaism and the government. Very eminent Hindus and Sikhs fell to the knife of the Muslim assassin. S.B. Charanjit Singh was killed while he was going on a main road in his car.

S. Madan Gopal Singh, Controller of Examinations was killed on the premises of the University where he had gone to fetch the records of the University (Sept. 5). L. Dev Chand Narang, President of Lahore District Congress

Committee was stabbed in Anarkali while doing relief work and he died (Sept. 21). Dr. Satya Paul was stabbed but he happily survived (Aug. 22)

About half a dozen Hindu and Sikh refugee trains from the West Punjab, on their way to the East Punjab, were halted and attacked near Shahdara by Muslim mobs and looted. A big lorrey convoy also suffered the same fate. Thousands of persons, men, women and children were done to death and many young girls and women, weeping and crying, were carried away and many molested and raped at the spot. Hatred, avarice, lust, and destruction had the fullest play. It was nothing but an inferno let loose on the banks of a river and the Ravi witnessed all this to her shame. We wonder why she did not burst out to drown the culprits who polluted her breast with blood.

LYALLPUR.

This rich district where Sikhs were 18.8 % and Hindus 9.7 % and all those mostly owners of vast acres of land, also had to experience many severe disturbances after August 15, and in a peculiar way. It was in the refugee camps that much of the killing was accomplished. This was due to the fact that these people being sufficiently strong, physically and financially, were more than a match for the miscreants. This was the condition before August 15. Soon after August 15 the Hindus and Sikhs decided to vacate the district in masse and the necessity of disturbing them was obviated as otherwise the buildings all over the district, essential for the Muslim refugees to do valuable agricultural work there, would have been destroyed. The Hindus and Sikhs of the district left their homes intact which the Muslims quietly occupied. The district was marked with one other grand feature that the foot-convoys, in vast numbers, left it for the Indian border carrying with them as many of their valuables as they could and the Pakistan authorities could allowed them.

The killing in this district was brought about by a British Military Colonel who had opted for Pakistan. It is reported he had drawn up a systematic and date-wise scheme of destruction of Hindus and Sikhs of the district and most ruthlessly carried it out.

On September 4, in the village of Momokanjar Mandi, 500 Hindus and Sikhs were put to death by a Muslim mob. The poor people were first concentrated in a place and were then called out by name one by one, and butchered. Only one old woman escaped, somehow, to tell the terrible tale.

The town of Kamalia was attacked in the morning of September 6 by a huge mob, 500 strong, armed with hatchets, swords and guns. The mob was led by Khan Ghulam Ali and Sarfraz Khan. The mob entered the bazars and streets and began massacring the Hindus and Sikhs and looting them. The Baloch Military soldiers, in plain clothes, were in the mob and shot the Hindus and Sikhs. First of all the massacre started in the Gurdawara Prem Basi and Mohalla Kokran and Chhabrian. Then the bazar was looted by 3 p.m. and nearly 3500 Hindus and Sikhs had been killed. Two hundred young girls were forcibly taken away from their homes. Valuables worth crores of rupees fell into the hands of the looters.

But the grand old man of the place, Saadat Ali Khan, was against any disturbances. The League workers of the place held a meeting to think of a plan of killing the reverend Sikh of the place, Sant Sangat Singh. Saadat Ali Khan entreated them not to kill him and threw his turban on their feet, saying that if they killed that saint they would all be ruined. The

saint was spared, and along with him many more Hindus and Sikhs even.

On Sept 1, at Jaranwala, inside the refugee camp, a Muslim mob, comprising military and armed gangs fired indiscriminately, killing and wounding many persons. The mob at the same time decamped with, a good number of young women. In the refugee camp of Kotla and Mitha firing took place and some casualties occurred.

On Sept 10, upwards of 6000 Hindus and Sikhs from a caravan, at Bhambipur, were killed and about 200 from another caravan at Mandi Pirmahal. The small town of Aronti about 8 miles from Pirmahal was attacked by the order of Pir Nasar Ali Shah and all Hindus and Sikhs there, numbering 1500 were done to death.

On October 1 and 2 the refugee camps of Arya School and Khalsa College in lyallpur city were attacked by armed gangs and a huge loss of life happened. Not less than 500 persons were killed in each camp. There were about 500 abductions of beautiful girls also. The same happened at Sacha Sauda also where shooting was done for a number of days on poor refugees, each day taking some toll of life. An attack was made on Samundri where about 50 persons lost their lives, and some girls were separated from their parents and taken away.

Toba Tek Singh:—Here the killing started on October 5. On that day, after the Jumma prayers, a Maulvi in his speech exhorted all the Muslims to arm themselves with swords and kill every Hindu and Sikh. On that day a Hindu-Sikh caravan was staying at Chak No. 301 Gojra Branch. This caravan happened to pass in front of the house of the D.S.P. Almost all the local officers were also present there. A special train had been requisitioned from Shorkot. The caravan people were deprived of their property and ordered to get into the train for Hindustan. About 400 women and girls were separated from their men and forcibly taken away. A retired Sikh Subedar was relieved of Rs. 40,000 by the D.S.P. The military and goondas were seated in the train and Hindus and Sikhs were killed in large numbers and thrown into the River Ravi.

The foot convoy that left this district is note-worthy. first column of the convoy numbering 40,000 left the district on September 14. It left behind it rich fields with their promising cotton, maize and sugarcane crops. It had in it motor trucks and bullock carts and moved towards Amritsar. Subsequently the peasantry from other places and districts moved on foot towards Lyallpur, as tributaries, to join the main stream, that started from there. The leaders of the convoy were Giant Kartar Singh and Jathedar Mohan Singh. Soon after the convoy had started its course was directed via Balloki Head. It formed many columns had to come

across many difficulties and hardships. They had to carry their own ration, fodder and medicines. At several places, on the way, they were attacked by Muslim mobs and searched by the Muslim police and military and deprived of valuables and arms. The Indian Government protested again and again against these searches and attacks but to no purpose. The Balloki Head many a time was closed for days together and many a time opened only for a couple of hours during the day time. The rains and mud further brought misery on them. All these factors slowed down their movements making further complications. The water supply of the canal along which they moved, at one time, was not supplied with water and the convoy was without water. These tribulations took away many lives, especially of children. In all 25 columns of the convoy moved upto October 26 and the total number evacuated in this way was nearly 10 lakhs. These columns of the convoy were stopped on November 6 as ample arrangements had been made for further evacuation by trains and trucks.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Montgomery district remained quiet up to Aug. 17. On Aug. 14 Sardar Said Khan D. C. was replaced by Mr Hassan Akhtar.

On Aug. 18 a lorry carrying some passengers reached the lorry station of Chhabil, 10 miles from Montgomery. Here it was held up by 5 armed Muslim National Guards and a young Sikh girl was snatched away and two Sikhs were wounded by rifle bullets. On a report being lodged with the Boundary Force men stationed there, the Dogra Military recovered the girl from village Jandian at 10 p.m.

This incident roused the Muslims of Montgomery who took out a procession of about 1000, men shouting the slogans 'Hindu ka mal hamara hai' and 'Hindu ki aurat hamari hai'. This made the Hindus & Sikhs of Montgomery very panicky and they closed their shops forthwith. The men of the Boundary Force reached there and there was firing and counterfiring. Some deaths took place.

On Aug 21 a huge mob of Muslims under Valait Shah attacked the Sikh Villages near Kabir and a report to this effect was made in the Police station. The Muslims of Chak No. 26 and 28 made a false counter report that the Sikhs had attacked the Muslims. On the strength of this report the Sub—Inspector of Police reached there but found all quiet. As a result of the attack on them, Hindus and Sikhs of villages began to evacuate and by 6 p.m. 60 carts loaded with men, women and children reached Arafwala.

This all the more intensified the panic and fear among the Hindus and Sikhs of villages near about Arafwala. This also spread panic among the people of Montgomery and some of them poured out at Goshala and some at the Railway platform of Montgomery.

This was the time when the Hindu Military stationed at Arafwala was to be replaced by the Pakistan Military. The Hindus and Sikhs who had collected at Arafwala, therefore, decided to leave for India. One S. Pritpal Singh moved about in different villages and collected the people for evacuation. It was on the 24th of Aug. That very day Chak No. 365 was attacked by a Muslim mob. On the 25th Chak No. 349 was attacked by Muslims.

The evacuees of Arafwala, on the 25th, met Malik Allah Yar Khan, the Deputy Director of Civil Supplies of Pakistan and told him all that had happened with them. They demanded of the Pakistan Government to give them an assurance that their life and property would be safeguarded so that they may not quit Pakistan but go back to their places. The malik replied that he was going to Multan to see the Commissioner and the D.I.G. and would on return do something for them. But on the 26th at 10 a.m. to their great dismay, the sub-Inspector of police communicated to their leaders the order of the D.C. that they should forthwith leave Pakistan or they would be shot dead.

The evacuees then started on their march towards India without any Military or police escort, under their own management, carrying their own provisions. The

caravan had 11,000 carts and consisted of 88,000 persons, men, women and children. By the order of the D.C. of Montgomery they were deprived of their licensed arms.

On its way the caravan was attacked by Muslim mob several times. It was first of all attacked near Jiwan shah canal by an armed mob 1,000 strong. On the 27th it was attacked near village Ravan da jhatha. Here the Muslim mob had already burnt down the village after looting it and were carrying away 15 women. A fight took place and 3 persons among the caravan and 20 among the mob were killed. The captive women were rescued. Next day the caravan reached the village Bulewal. Here they found about 300 dead bodies of Hindus and Sikhs and 50 carts that had been burnt. This was the fate of a small caravan from Dipalpur. It was all killed and looted and women were abducted.

The caravan crossed the Sulemanki Head on August 29. Soon after the Arafwala caravan had started on its March towards India, the whole of the country side was seriously disturbed. Men were killed and thrown into the wells and some remained lying in the fields or on the roads for dogs and vultures to eat. Women were mishandled and abducted.

Another caravan then left Chichawatni. On its way it could not get water to drink as the wells had either been poisoned or polluted with dead bodies.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

The district of Multan suffered like Rawalpindi and Attock more in March than in subsequent months.

The story of carnage and distruction in the district goes as follows. On hearing of the resignation of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan, Hindus and Sikhs were greatly upset, whereas the League and Muslims generally rejoiced and became very defiant. On March 5 the students of the local D.A.V. Callege took out a small procession in the city uttering anti-League and anti-Pakistan solgans. This was soon disperssed by the Police and fortunatelp there was no casualty. The League leaders hastened to draw up a programme and make a concentrated effort to destroy Hindus and Sikhs of the district. They collected the Muslim National Guards and raided the business quarters of the city. In Katra Tole Khan a large number of shops and residential quarters were looted and burnt. The same fate met the outside region of Pak Gate and the area of Khuni Burj and Haram Gate where houses and shops were looted and burnt. The entire Sabzi Mandi and the Bimal Textile Factory were also burnt and demolished. No consideration was paid even to the religious places, accordingly, something like 13 Gurdawaras and Mandirs were desecrated and demolished. These rioters killed many innocent lives of men, women and children. They even entered the T. B. Hospital and killed the ailing Hindu-Sikh patients leaving the Muslims safe to suffer a bit longer.

The raiders killed Sardar Nanak Singh, advocate, who was proceeding to the city in his car to dissuade the students from taking out the procession. He was stoned to death and his head was smashed to pieces by bricks. The raiders attacked the house of Seth Kalyan Dass and killed him, and his son, wife, and other children. They did not spare Dr. Kitchlew even who had gone there to do his case and was staying at Seth ji's house. Dr. Kitchlew was assaulted and stabbed but spared when the mob was told that his name was Saifud-Din.

The carnage and killing by the League agents was continued on March 6. The Flames were leapt up to the sky and, the cries of woe and pain rent the air. Horrible scenes were enacted.

The trouble then went to the rural areas where more Hindus and Sikhs suffered in life and property. In a village Tragan there was an open fight between the two parties and many persons were killed. Nineteen bodies were recovered and brought to the city. The tehsil of Multan, Shujabad and Lodhran witnessed many horrible scenes of killing and destruction.

Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Member, hastened to visit the district along with many other leaders and Military and Police Officials. The effect of this action and the Police and Military vigilance was that the trouble in Multan district in March was soon controlled to a great extent. Although the exact number of deaths could not be ascertained yet according to the Government

figures the number of killed was 250 and that of houses and shops burnt was 75. The property looted was worth more than one crore of rupees.

After March 6 the trouble considerably abated and it was villages mainly that were affected. Many villages in the Police Station of Saddar Multan, Shujabad and Makhdumpur continued to be affected for some time and looting, burning killing went on.

Trouble once again arose in the district of Multan. The city was more severely affected than the rural areas. In the city alone 130 persons were killed and 142 sustained injuries. Houses 700 in number and 23 gurdawaras and Mandirs were gutted and damaged. In rural areas 50 persons were killed and 48 seriously injured. In the hospital even, 12 persons died.

After Aug 15 armed bands of hooligans were operating on railway train, especially between Multan and Bhakhae. Hindus and Sikhs attempting to escape were thrown out of running trains.

At Leiah, an, important town, 79 miles from Multan, many Hindus and Sikhs were killed. In Ludan many Hindus and Sikhs were forcibly converted on a large scale. At many other villages also in the district killing and conversion took place.

MIANWALI DISTRICT

Mianwali is another one of the most unfortunate districts where serious disturbances took place and many a life was lost. The carnage and destruction here compares favourably with what took place in Rawalpindi and Attock districts in the month of March with the difference that fire-raising was not on a grand scale. The butchery and savagery committed passes all descriptions. Here the custodians of law and order were the perpetrators of loot and killing. The tale of Hindus and Sikhs who were in a microscopic minority in the district was very woeful.

In Mianwali district the town being well protected by mixed military, the trouble first of all occurred in the countryside on September, 9, and the villages like Hernouli Piplan, Aluwali, Kalor-Kot, Jandanwala, were disturbed and thousands of Hindus and Sikhs were killed and converted and a large number of women were taken away. Isathel was burnt down. Women to save their honour jumped into the wells and some got themselves killed by their own men. In Harnouli alone, out of 8,000 Hindus and Sikhs, 4,000 were despatched to death, 2,000 were forcibly converted and only 2,000 escaped. In this attack about 12,000 Hindu and Sikhs met their death. Abdul Satar Niazi, M.L.A. directed the activities of the rioters. After this some Sikh military men were detailed in the Mianwali district to protect it.

Up to September 27, there being mixed military, the town of Mianwali remained quiet. In the town itself there were 70 Sikh troops. On September 27 these troops were withdrawn and replaced by 1000 Baloch and Pathan troops. This was an occasion for the serious disturbances and general massacre of Hindus and Sikhs in the district. On the night of September 28 a mob, consisting of military, local police personnel and Muslim National Guards attacked the town. They had with them army vehicles and civilian buses which they utilised for carrying away looted property and abducted women. Thousands were converted and brutally treated. Women were carried away like chattel or booty and passed on from hand to hand like prostitutes and indescribable atrocities were committed on them. Converted people were placed under virtual house arrest.

The trouble once again spread to the villages and whole of the Hindu and Sikh population of 18 villages near the Frontier border was converted. In the area bounded by Mianwali, Musakhel, Namal Chakrala, Thammewali, Newan and Messan very few Hindus and Sikhs have been able to escape. In Thammewali a number of women were moved from the house of one Malik to another. Here 70 Hindus and Sikhs were forcibly converted and were forced to stay on at the point of bayonet.

As a result of this attack Hindus and Sikhs began to leave the town for a refugee camp. The Military

charged Rs. 30 per head for permission to leave the town. Before they were allowed to proceed to the camp they were deprived of all their belongings. Women even were not exempted.

About 10 to 12 thousand were accommodated in the main refugee camp where a meal consisted of one chappati of $1\frac{1}{2}$ chatak of barley and one piece of dry onion. Water was scarce and a pitcher of water cost as such as Rs. 50. Muslims were permitted to open shops in the camp where salt was sold at Rs. 2 per seer and atta at the rate of Rs. 4 per seer. The Government of India then, on October 15, sent five thousand pounds cooked food to the camp by an aeroplane to relieve the distress of its nationals in that camp. Also a unit of Indian armed forces was ordered to move to Mianwali for their protection. A number of trains and trucks were sent there for their evacuation.

MUZAFFARGARH AND DERA GHAZI KHAN.

The trouble in these two districts started on Sept 7. The Muslim National Guards, the Baloch Military, and goondas all cooperated in these disturbances. First of all the villages were the victims where loot, arson, killing, forced conversions and abductions were done freely and unfettered. In one or two villages stiff resistance was offered by the Sikhs but their number being too small ultimately they perished after doing their job.

The villages of Bhuta, Shehr Sultan, Khan Garh were looted and sacrificed to the fire. Many Hindus and Sikhs were converted and the rest ran to the town of Muzaffargarh for the sake of safety. All Hindus and Sikhs of the village Sheikh Ismail, nearly three thousand in number, were converted. In the village of Khan Garh 600 Sikhs were slaughtered and their houses looted. Young girls were abducted. In the village of Rallawali there was a fight for full twenty four hours. The Police then succeeded in snatching away the arms of Hindus and Sikhs. The village was then besieged and finished.

In the village of Mochiwali there was a general massacre. Some people burnt themselves alive by sprinkling kerosene oil on themselves and then lighting it. Kot Sultan, Manawan. Jumah Shah were attacked and many men were killed and a large number of abductions took place. In Dera Ghazi Khan Jampura, Rajanpura Dajal, Kot Chhata a general

massacre of Hindus and Sikhs happened with the active help of the Baloch Military. On the Chenab river bridge Muslim National Guards stationed themselves and killed every Hindu and Sikh they came across, whether in a bus or a lorry or on foot. In the village of Umarkot about 100 Hindus and Sikhs were butchered and wounded.

In a village of district Muzaffargarh one thousand Muslims attacked and carried away much booty in property and young girls after doing wholesale killing. The attackers caught hold of Lala Behari Lal, a millionaire, and demanded 80 thousand rupees from him to let him go. He paid the cash but afterwards was killed along with ten members of his family.

N.W.F. PROVINCE.

(Peshawar, D.I. Khan and Hazara, etc.)

The communal hooliganism in the N.W.F.P. was the direct outcome of the nefarious League propaganda. Since the commencement of the League agitation, Mullah of Manki toured the District of Peshawar and visited the various parts of the Tribal area including Kohat Pass, Khajuri Plains, Kurram Agency, North and South Waziristan, when he preached League slogans with the obvious resultant aftermaths.

The trouble in the N.W.F.P. arose when Shrimati Pesri Devi, daughter of S. Bhagat Singh, aged 27 years, resident of village Malach, district Hazara, who in a statement recorded in the presence of her mother, Shrimati Raj Kaur and Mr Mir Ahmed, son of Mr Abdul Hait, resident of Nagri, before the City Magistrate Peshawar, on February 18, 1947, said, "I am a Sikh and not a Muslim and have never been a Muslim. I want to go back to the Sikhs with my mother. I am pregnant for the last 8 months." Accordingly Shrimati Pesri was lawfully restored to the Sikh family. But this act of justice was exploited by putting a completely false story to inflame communal feelings. A demonstration followed by violence occurred at Mardan. Persons arrested in that connection included certain Muslim League leaders including Barrister Abdul Qaiyum, the present premier and the then leader of the opposition in the Frontier Assembly.

On the 21st February, a very large and unruly crowd succeeded in entering Peshawar Cantonment,

invaded the private residence of the Honourable Chief Minister and caused considerable damage. Violent speeches were made. Immediate return of the Sikh woman to Muslims, release of Muslim League leaders, and the removal of the ban under Section 144 Cr. P.C. were among the demands made by the demonstrators. The crowd then marched to the District Jail where the District Magistrate effected a few arrests and the remaining crowd was dispersed without recourse to firing or a lath charge. Tear gas was used in small quantities. The following morning Section 144 Cr P.C. was promulgated in the city and cantonment of Peshawar and strict precautions were taken to prevent any further incidents in those localities.

On the 24th and 25th February, bands of Muslim League Guards defied the orders issued under Section 144 Cr. P.C. by taking out small processions and shouting slogans. On one occasion a Sikh policeman was attacked and seriously injured. The police had to resort to lathi charges on a few occasions to disperse processionists.

Then on the 10th March, a large and defiant crowd, on the railway embankment, in the vicinity of the Assembly Hall, was opposed by Military forces who were compelled to open controlled fire to disperse them. About 9 rounds were fired resulting in about 15 casualties of which 2 died. This incident was followed by further attacks on Hindus and Sikhs in the city and the round up of several Sikh families in a cluster of villages on the Kohat Road, about 10 miles South of Peshawar.

Three Sikhs were murdered and about 40 families forcibly converted. Another raid was committed on Chajian village, South-East of Haripur, in Hazara, and about 50 Hindus and Sikhs were massacred. All told, in those disturbances 350 Hindus and Sikhs were done to death, property destroyed, looted and burnt, places of worship reduced to ashes and forcible conversions of non-Muslims took place. The Red Shirts and the Congress Ministers did much to keep peace and help the refugees.

Trouble then arose in Kohat. On April 3, eight persons, including four women were killed and about 20 more were wounded and one non-Muslim woman was kidnapped from a train.

After this the picketing of Courts by the League volunteers became a routine business. On Friday, the 5th of April, a procession of League volunteers and leaders assumed a threatening magnitude and was dispersed by the police and a number of them were arrested. The League leaders then took out a mock funeral procession of Dr. Khan Sahib on April, 14. Twenty of the processionists were arrested. Some League volunteers then entered the booking office of Nowshera railway station and started issuing 'Pakistan' tickets. Processions were also organised in Abbotabad, Havelian, Mardan, Kohat and Bannu. In Bannu, the residence of the Deputy Commissioner was also picketed. As a result of these processions and League slogans the trouble spread all over the Province. League women interfered with the running of trains. They squatted

on the railway track near Cunningham Park to stop the Down Bombay express. The train could not be stopped, But a few women were injured. A bridge, Pulpukhta, in the city was set fire to. Two Sikh passers by were shot dead. A few houses were set on fire. In the village of Sarbulandpur, about 2 miles from Peshawar, a number of Sikhs were shot dead. In Kohat League workers had a row with the police and threw a bomb in the house of Lala Dularam, in uring his Chowkidar. At the village Hangu, Muslim Leaguers attacked Hindus and Sikhs and killed a number of them. In Dera Ismail Khan the situation became very serious. A procession of Muslims started from the League Office and divided itself into different parties. One of the parties went towards the courts and post offices and caused damage to the buildings and telegraph office and telegram wires. The three parties went into the city and set fire to shops and houses of non-Muslims. As a result half of the city of Dera Ismail Khan (about 1200 shops and houses) was burnt and a huge loss of property of about 10 crores of rupees took place. The number of houses looted was 1600 and shops 1000. These fires continued burning for three or four days and were visible from a great distance. When the owners of the houses would come out to extinguish the fires, they were shot down, The loss of life was inestimable. About 2,000 persons were forcibly converted out of whom 1,800 were re-converted, A 24 hours curfew was imposed on the city, In tank looting and rioting started in the

bazar. A number of persons were killed. The trouble then spread into the rural areas of Dehra Ismail Khan where Hindus and Sikhs were remorselessly done to death, their children were slaughtered and young women folk raped a number of times and carried away and or butchered. These villains did not regard these women as human beings and mothers of children but as mechanical object of lust. The cruelty and bestiality was so great that the author feels shame even to describe it.

The bands of Pathan, carrying League flag and armed with axes, hatchets clubs, and spears caught hold of young girls and stripped them stark naked. The poor girls struggled hard but in vain. The Pathan gave them the League Flag and paraded them with the beat of drums. In the end the poor girls were disposed off and some done to death.

The cruelty done in Dera Ismail Khan and Tank was so great that the Ahrars came out to condemn it. The General Council of the Frontier Majlis-i-Ahrar, on April 16, adopted a resolution condemning unequivocally the hooliganism and goondaism prevailing in the Frontier Province. The Council appealed to the Muslims of the Province that the public demonstrations by women were unislamic and against Shariat Laws. Loot, arson and forcible conversions took place in the villages of kotshahi, Shorkot, Budh, Bilot, Khandukhal, Takwara, Hathala, Rori, Cajori, Unarkhel and Swabi.

on April 22. Muslim League women demonstrators in veil entered the All-India Radio Station, Peshawar, broke glass frames and flower pots and damaged office files. They also hoisted there the League flag. These women made a demonstration in front of the premier's residence. At Bannu, Kohat, Tank and Nowshera processions were taken out by the League demonstrators and Telephone and Telegraph wires were cut. The Kulachi Tehsil was also seriously disturbed and arson cases took place in the jurisdiction of police Kalu Khan in Mardan district and at Abbotabad. The main bazar containing about 100 shops, with some adjoining houses was burnt and looted. About a dozen persons were killed. Hooliganism was carried to Paharipur where Hindus and Sikhs suffered heavily in loss of life and property. They were evacuated to D.I. Khan and their houses were looted and ransacked soon after they had left.

The Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, now proposed to visit the N.W.F.P. to have the first hand knowledge of the happenings and League goondaism there. Mr. Jinnah, it seems, fearing lest the conditions prevailing in Peshwar, Dera Ismail Khan, Tank, etc., should have a prejudicial affect on the mind of the Viceroy, thought it advisable to appeal to his lieutenants and followers to maintain peace and order on the Viceroy's visit to N.W.F.P. Lord Mountbatten visited Peshawar on April 28, accompanied by Lady Mountbatten, Pamela Mountbatten, the Private Secretary and the members of his personal

Staff. The League collected a large number of men from all places it could. The crowd collected at the Cunningham Park. Standing on the railway bridge the Viceroy had a view of the crowd for ten minutes and waved his hand in salutation. The crowd returned the salutation and raised slogans. He was accompanied by the Governor and Ministers. The Red Shirts were particularly asked to be absent to avoid any clash between Pathan and Pathan.

Soon after the Viceroy's departure, disturbances once again started in N.W.F.P. Shooting of Sikhs started in Peshawar where a number of them were killed. Bombs also were thrown in the city. The town of Kulachi and the village of Gomei were raided by tribesmen at night. They started firing and the looting of houses and shops and desecration of Gurdwaras. Some Hindus were killed. In Bannu district, a Hindu was kidnapped from the village of Kot Kashmir. His dead body was later found in the fields outside the village.

In connection with these disturbances Badshah Khan remarked : "There are only two parties in N.W.F.P. i.e., the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Governor's party. If Sir Olaf Caroe wants to have peace in the province he can have it at once. The British plan seems to be to help the League in the province in order to make the Frontier and a part of the Punjab as a buffer state between India and Russia. Sir Olaf Caroe told the

ministers once that there was nothing in common between them and India and if they would agree to get out from the Congress he would give them all his support. He is anxious to hand over the Frontier Province to the Muslim League. Lala Mehar Chand Khanna, the Finance Minister of the N.W.F.P. remarked, "If the opposition (Muslim League) can muster courage and is able to pass a no-confidence motion against the Ministry. I assure it that a request will be made to the Governor to call the Assembly forthwith. But to force dissolution of a ministry or election through violent methods, killing, loot and arson is not only wrong but shameful. To give in to such methods will tantamount to violence which will be a dangerous precedent to which no body, much less the Congressites, who believe in non-violence, will even agree."

Now among the younger section of the Congress people in the province there arose a strong desire to meet violence, if needed, by force. The son of Badshah Khan, Khan Abdul Ghani, started a new party. Zalme Pakhtoon (Young Pathans). They were clad in red uniform and were all armed with pistols for purposes of defence only. They believed in retaliation.

The Congress then demanded the recall of the Governor, Olaf Caroe, from the N.W.F.P. who was in league with the Muslim League and hence given it a free hand. The Badshah Khan went to Delhi

and along with the Congress leaders of India passed this on to Lord Mountbatten.

But it was without any effect. The League hooliganism went on. Kulachi, Newshehra, Mansehra, Kohat, and Bannu continued to be disturbed with cases of arson and stabbing. The League processions continued in big towns and courts were picketed. Women volunteer entered the Peshawar Central Telephone and turned out the staff. Such a procession on May 27 indulged in stone-throwing at Bannu, where street light bulbs and window panes were damaged. Mr. Kewal Ram, M L A. was injured. Raids were done on railway stations, Octroi posts and liquor shops. In Kohat rowdy students smashed furniture in a number of primary schools.

By now plans for the division of the country had almost reached the stage of maturity. Pathans who were congressites but according to their plans were being put in Pakistan became restless. They never wanted division of the country. They preferred an independent existence if the country was to be divided, and, accordingly, raised the cry of Pathanistan an independent province having nothing to do with india. This demand gained sufficient movement and many of the League followers also favoured it.

On June 3, trouble once again arose in Newshehra in Hazara district, where 1/3 of the town was destroyed and a loss of property worth rupees 30 lakhs

was caused. Three places of worship were also burnt,

According to the British plan the N.W.F.P. was to take a referendum and for that the date fixed was July. The Government then in order to play fair by the province recalled Sir Olaf Caroe by giving him two months leave. But the referendum was to be fought on the issue of 'Pakistan and India' The Pathans declared that they would contest only on the issue of Pathanistan and Pak'istan. As this the British Government would not agree to this the Pathans boycotted it. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan announced the boycott on June 24, and said that he was prepared to accept that on Pak'istan versus Pathanistan basis. Pathanistan according to him would be a real source of strength to Pakistan as well as to Muslims.

The referendum was arranged for According to Dr. Khan Sahib, the premier of N.W.F.P. most of the local officials and members of the referendum staff were in open alliance with the Muslim League. With a view to securing a majority of votes, a large number of bogus votes were recorded. There were innumerable cases where dead persons and those behind the prison bars polled votes. In Kohat and other districts. people voted 10 or 11 times for those persons who were dead. Impersonation was the order of the day. Even in those cases where bogus voters were apprehended for impersonation, they were immediately set free. He also made it clear that the result of referendum on the issues in the plan of June 3, was not going

to solve the problem confronting the Pathans.

Under conditions as described above, referendum was taken and the results of the referendum were that the N.W.F.P. was not to go to India but to Pakistan.

Soon after August 15 i.e., on August 22, N.W.F.P. came under the control of the League and Mr. Abdul Qayyum Khan was appointed by Mr. Jinnah as its premier. There was a complete black out of news and what happened there for some days is known only to a few favoured people. The Red-shirts and its organisers pledged as they were to their revered leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and his creed of non-violence, did not disturb the peace of the province and quietly retired. The Hindus and Sikhs finding no protection from the League Government thought of deserting the province and there was deluge and destruction in the province. Even then evacuation was hindered by the agents of the League whether or in the Government or in the public. They would not give take off signals to the aeroplanes sent there by Indian Government unless the evacuees had been deprived of every article of value declaring it as 'Pakistan's property. Every Hindu and Sikh, especially the latter, was shot at sight. Red Shirts were all disarmed.

A troop train evacuating Hindu and Sikh personnel was attacked by an armed mob killing and wounding a large number of them. The premier of the province then announced.

"Most of our troops are in India and Indian troops

are here. I, therefore, urge on the Muslim League organisation throughout the province to explain to the public that they should abstain from interfering with troop transport". A military escorted convoy evacuating some non-Muslim military personnel and some refugees was attacked near Attock and the number of casualties were 69. In Nowshehra by September 20 two thousand Hindus and Sikhs were done to death and about two hundred girls were taken away. They had been looted and two-thirds of Saddar Bazar was reduced to ashes. This was the work of the Muslim military, the police, the National Guards and other Leaguers. The D.S.P. himself was there to do the killing and help in the loot. In Akora Jahangira, Khairabad hell was let loose and the Pathans made a resolve not to leave a single Hindu and Sikh alive. To save the lives of 500 Sikhs a convoy was sent to Wah refugee camp from Nowshehra, under Baloch military guard. Near Khairabad the convoy was attacked and finished up almost entirely. In Issakhel and the places on the border of N.W.F.P. the Pathans made the evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs, especially the womenfolk, impossible by stationing on every house-roof of Hindus and Sikhs, a Pathan with a rifle and an armed member of the National Guard. It was with much tact and wisdom that the evacuation from these places was effected.

The Frontier Government arrested R. B. Mehar Chand

who was the Finance Minister in Dr Khan's Ministry under arms act on November 9. He was awarded six months' simple imprisonment but was enlarged on bail.

During these horrible disturbances much credit goes to Dr. Khan who gave shelter to many Hindus and Sikhs and moved from one refugee camp to another to show sympathy with the Hindus and Sikhs.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT

The story of Rawalpindi district killing is most brutal and inhuman the world has ever witnessed anywhere on the surface of the earth. It is a story of butchery and slaughter in cold blood, whole-sale loot and arson, entire destruction of towns and villages, and conversions, abduction, rape and forced marriages, all done by fanatical crowds, thousands strong, in the name of religion. The technique employed by the deep-drunk and fanatical raiders was almost everywhere the same and they were aiming at the same kind of results, the utter destruction of Hindus and Sikhs in the district. It is a story of fiendish deeds of devils proving the extent of lowness to which human beings could sink tyrannizing over their erstwhile brethren. It is a story of bravery and courage, fortitude and determination to protect their honour exhibited by the people who were suddenly surrounded by armed gangs in legions. It is a story of sacrifice and martyrdom of thousands, at the same place, and the same time, and of criminal neglect of duty, violation of the rules and regulations of service by the custodians of law and order, the entire Muslim police of the district, and their active participation with the forces of evil and ruin. It is a story of carefully planned and well-organised hooliganism meant to exterminate, root and branch, the well-to-do ancient people of the district. Last of all, but not the least, it is a story of the evil

return by an English Deputy Commissioner who had tasted the salt of India and thrived on her soil for years together, because he could no longer keep her children under his iron heels.

The account of the disturbances that took place in this unfortunate district is such that the author's pen refuses to describe it and his brain reels to think. The more one will come to learn of the happenings of the dark days that dawned here the more horrified one will become. The clamity that descended on the unfortunate helpless people and the misery that they had to undergo will ever remain a stigma on the character of men. Here was a brute in the garb of man,

It was on the 4th of March that a plan for the wholesale destruction of Hindus and Sikhs, men, women and children, was hatched at Taxila by important members of the Muslim League of Rawalpindi, Attock, and Mianwali districts. The meeting was well attended. It was decided to start hooliganism movement in all the three districts by a common strategy and without the least loss of time. Couriers were sent to different places of the district telling Muslims that the British Raj in India had ended, the Sikh had started over-running the entire Punjab and would soon enslave the Muslims of the Trans-Jhelum territory. In order to save themselves from further slavery and destruction the Muslims of Rawalpindi, Attock, and Cambellpur

districts should forthwith get ready with their sharp weapons and dry powder to destroy and kill the Sikhs and Hindus of those districts at their earliest, before they succeeded in joining with their brethren and swelling their ranks and overpowering Muslims and effacing them.

Preparations having been made, weapons having been sharpened, arms and ammunitions having been collected, oil and petrol having been amassed, Rawalpindi Muslims on the 6th March at 5 p.m. in the evening, attacked Rawalpindi City and set fire to Suri Fuelstall and, after an hour and a half, to the timber godown near Khalsa College and then the house of a retired judicial officer, near Shahnazar bridge. The fires from these three places were visible from long distances and their flames were reaching the sky. Then at night Ratta, a big Hindu locality, was attacked and burnt to the ground. The fires went on burning for the whole night. Many a life also was lost in flames and by gunshots of the raiders. On the following day, a large number of raiders carrying spears, lathis, swords, axes, clubs, etc., were seen coming from Golra side. They were photographed from the air while on their march. The military had engaged them for two hours but they could inflict two casualties only on the raiders. They then attacked, in large numbers, the city from the North, but were repulsed with heavy losses. On the 7th again the raiders swarmed on the city in still larger numbers but took

to their heels when Hindus and Sikhs collected together at some distance from the habitation and gave them a hot reception by hundreds of rounds of cartridges fired from their guns and rifles. Instead of doing any harm the raiders themselves were severely mauled and thinned. They carried away their dead bodies.

Hereafter the League army dispersed to the countryside. On the 8th Saidpur and Murree were in flames. Many Hindu and Sikh buildings there were gutted and their flames lighted the city of Rawalpindi, 38 miles distant. It was a horrifying spectacle of a vast area of the sky actually on fire, as if by the Devil exaspirated with God.

On the 9th the Killing and Destruction movement spread to the countryside. All small, far-flung villages of Hindus and Sikhs were pulled to the ground and they themselves were either put to sword or made to flee to bigger villages which even were later destroyed one by one and the survivors were evacuated to refugee camps or brought to Rawalpindi.

Some of important villages destroyed by the mob are mentioned below:—

KAHUTA

Next to Rawalpindi this was the most flourishing town in the district. It was situated on the bank of a nala and at the foot of the Murree Hills. It commanded a picturesque scenery. It was an important business centre on the road to Poonch. Its population was about 15,000 and consisted of Hindus and Sikhs, doing all trades and very well off. They were a sturdy people and their women were laden with gold and silk. The town had Tehsil headquarters, and possessed a Government High School, a civil hospital, and a veterinary hospital, and a big cloth and grain market.

A huge mob from surrounding villages on the 9th, in the afternoon, surrounded the town. They started looting and burning the outside houses of Hindus and Sikhs. They had in their possession guns and rifles and started firing at random to terrify the people. Hindus and Sikhs were all surprised and they took up their arms and occupied positions. It was a state of acute tension. They sent telegrams to the Deputy Commissioner, the Governor, Sardar Baldev Singh, etc but were told by the postal authorities, after they had received the payments, that the line was out of order and no messages could be sent. At this time the military reached the town but they were told by the Muslim tehsildar that all was well there and they went back.

A few days before this a lady doctor of the place, who was a Muslim, was openly saying to the Hindu and Sikh ladies that Islam was infinitely superior to their religion and they must soon adopt the ways of Muslim women so that hereafter when they were taken to the houses of Muslims, they should not feel any difficulty. An important Moulvi of the place was seen moving about in the bazars crying loudly to the people to keep peace. These things foretold the future events.

The tehsildar then called the leaders of Hindus and Sikhs and asked them as well as the leaders of Muslims to surrender their arms so that he might make efforts for peace. These guiltless people surrendered their guns, rifles and swords. The tehsildar then in his presence handed over their arms to Muslims along with their own. This horrified the poor Hindus and Sikhs. They all collected in the Gurdwara of Singh Sabha carrying away their household effects to that place. The same moulvi once again moved through the bazars crying. "I have several times asked these Kafirs to keep peace but they would not. What can I do now. Go and die like dogs." The mob then began to loot and set fire to the houses one by one. This went on for two or three days. The poor Hindus and Sikhs then huddled together in one building, hardly sufficient to accommodate them all and their household effects and found themselves in a miserable condition. They had no food and no water and the place had become

awfully dirty. They served their children with their urine in place of water and themselves drank theirs. Life became very difficult there. Then all of a sudden the military reached there. The raiders melted away and the poor garrison was evacuated to wah camp and to Rawalpindi; penniless and clothless, not being allowed to carry away their things. But no sooner had they been taken out of the Gurdawara than the sacred place was made over to the flames and pulled down. And now in place of the once prosperous Kahuta, you have nothing but ash and debris to see which Lord Mountbatten even went there with his wife.

MANDRA

Simultaneously the fanatical mob attacked the village Mandra, a Hindu-Sikh locality just close to the railway station. The whole village was burnt down and in a very short time. The strength of the village was about 500. Many of them were brutally slain and burnt alive. Children were done to death. The rest ran away for safety to Guja-khan, a big town 12 miles from Mandra. The once prosperous village of Mandra, all of a sudden, was turned into ruins.

BEWAL.

This was an important and prosperous, though a small village at a distance of 12 miles from Gujarkhan. It had a Hindu-Sikh population of about 1500. The Hindu section of population was richer and more influential than the Sikh section. The village had a Gurdawara, a temple and a school.

All of a sudden in the afternoon of the 7th March, the village was surrounded by a huge mob that came upon it from all sides beating drums and dancing. They entered the bazaar and began to loot shops. At one or two places, duels took place and the contestants were injured. Soon the whole bazaar closed and the people became alert. A few of those who possessed arms used them against the raiders. But the number of raiders was too large and resistance could not be effective for a long time. The raiders demanded a sum of Rs 10,000/- to go back. This sum was at once collected and paid. But it only served as an attraction for the destruction of the village. The raiders soon started looting and burning the village. The people then collected in the Gurdawara which was situated at the centre of the village. Men went up the Gurdawara whereas women and children kept inside. There was firing and pelting of stones from outside and firing and pelting from inside. In this way night came on and passed away. The Gurdawara was in a state of siege. Next day in the morning the people exhausted all ammunition, pulled down the parapets of the Gurdawara and hurled the bricks on the raiders.

The raiders then succeeded in throwing kerosene oil on the doors and wiadows of the Gurdawara and burning it. They also threw incendiary material inside the Gurdawara on account of which the whole of it was on fire and all those who were inside were choked to death or roasted alive. Only three souls were saved who somehow managed to escape. This is how 1,500 lives were killed and the entire village burnt down.

CHOHA.

This village was a sufficiently big one. Its population was about 2,000, three-fourths of which were Hindus and one-fourth Sikhs. On the 8th, attackers in large numbers, surrounded it from all sides. They demanded a huge sum of Rs. 20,000/- to spare the village from destruction. Half of it, was paid at once and the rest was being collected, when the raiders asked the Hindus to separate from the Sikhs as they meant no harm to the Hindu but would not spare a single Sikh of an age. Some of the Hindus acted upon the words of the attackers and began deserting their brethren. The rest of them having only a few swords shut themselves up in three or four places. The mob then fell upon the few Hindus who had forsaken their brethren and had thus fallen into their hands. They carried away a few young girls and put to death all other men, women and children. Those Hindus and Sikhs who had shut themselves up in three or four places hearing of the unfortunate fate of their brethren became very

apprehensive. Women besought their men to slay them with their own hands to spare them ignominy and molestation at the hands of the raiders. The men expecting no escape from death killed their womenfolk and children. Last of all they killed one another and finished themselves. As a result in less than a day's time Choha was covered with corpses and pools of blood of its own people. The mob then was free to loot the town and when this was over they burnt the houses one by one.

THAMALI.

The raiders having set in flames the village of Choha, attacked Thamali which contained about 15,000 souls. These people were very strong and financially very well off. The village was surrounded at about 9 in the morning. The occupants at once collected their women and children at one place and themselves took up positions with swords, axes, spears and rifles and at once there was a regular fight between the invaders who were in overwhelming numbers and a few brave and courageous Hindu and Sikh stalwarts. Many of the raiders were killed. The raiders then sent a message to an influential Hindu gentleman, Balmokand, a retired Inspector of police, that if they were paid Rs. 18,000/- they would leave the village safe. The sum was collected and paid at once. This elicited another demand from the raiders. They demanded the arms of Hindus and Sikhs. This demand the people refused to comply with. A fight took place which continued for three days and nights till the ammunition was exhausted. The men thereafter slew their women and children and came out to meet the raiders and three hundred of them were killed in the fight. Thereafter the whole village was burnt and the fire was visible from a distance.

DOBERAN

A cousin of the author who was killed in this village along with his entire family wrote to him from this village. "Last night in my dream, I saw a number of my elderly relations, father, mother, mother's sister and her husband, maternal uncle and his wife and a few more— all departed souls. They were all sitting in a conference at a hilly place. They counselled me to live in unity with my relations at one place and be circumspect."

Doberan was a fine small village at the foot of a small hill and commanded a picturesque scenery. The population was entirely sikh and the villagers were either militarists, traders or farmers. All of them were well-to-do. The population was about 2000.

On the morning of the 9th March a large number of dacoits and looters gathered on the hillside of the village and looked like vultures. The people became bewildered and more so when they saw the neighbouring village of Choha in flames. By noon these human vultures entered the village and began to move about freely in the bazaar and streets. But soon they melted away. The people collected in a conference to contemplate ways of meeting the situation. Next day again the raiders collected and in larger numbers and pounced upon the villagers. They seized about 200 women. The rest of the people collected in the Gurdwara which was besieged at once. The raiders then called upon

the inmates to embrace Islam and save their lives. Some of them were duped and they deserted their brethren. They were then converted to Islam by cutting their hair but were soon beheaded. The besieged people inside the Gurdwara, finding all resistance futile killed their women and children with their axes and swords and then they killed themselves. The raiders were able to catch hold of two or three most respectable persons of the village and then they treated them most brutally by tying ropes around their necks, putting a loaded charpai on their heads and having them dragged by a horse as if they formed a cart, till their breaths were choked and their bones pounded. From the possession of the women that fell into their hands they snatched away children and cut them piece-meal, fried them in oil and presented them to their mothers to eat. Some of the more grown up children were caught up by the legs and their heads were smashed against the walls till they died. Some of the women managed to jump into the wells to escape brutal treatment. In this inhuman butchery, the head of the village, by name Sajawal, took a leading part. The raiders then looted the houses, carrying the loot on the back of camels' and made a bonfire of the village. while carrying away the loot the raiders were cursing the people of the village for they were keeping too much of property which took the (raiders) so much time and effort to carry away to their places. The raiders took away 60 beautiful young girls.

THOHA.

This was a small village inhabited mostly by Sikhs having a population of about 1200. It was situated on the bank of a rivulet. There were a number of natural springs of fresh water. It abounded in natural hill scenery.

This village was surrounded by a mob on the 9th at noon time. An elderly lady in the bazaar was found talking to her muslim domestic servant who had been with her for the last thirty years and had left her less than a week ago, without any cause. She said " what is that which has made the attitude of you people so hard that you are so indifferent towards us and are not prepared to listen to anything." "My dear mother, there was a time when you were so dear to us. What can we do now as everyday we receive instruction from League Leaders exhorting to trouble you," he replied. The mob then suddenly started looting and burning the village. The men of the village hurriedly collected their womenfolk in the Gurdawara and themselves took up positions to be able to face the danger. A regular battle took place till all men were slain. The raiders then surrounded the Gurdawara that was sheltering the women. They asked them to come out, embrace Islam and agree to go to their Zanans. These brave ladies would not listen to the raiders. They were then told that all their men without a single

expectation had been despatched to death, and there was no other way for them save the one suggested to them. These ladies came out of the Gurdawara saying that they would desert their homes but would not agree to their proposal. They dashed out. The raiders then at once chased them and drawing a line in front of them said : "Those who do not want to accept their proposal of embracing Islam and going into their privacy may cross the line in which case they will at once be killed and those who accept the proposal should remain behind and will be saved." These bold women at once replied that they would like to go back to the village to think over the matter for a short time. They then went back and, one after another, jumped into a deep well full of water where they left their vestures of clay. The raiders were wonder struck to see the brave act of these ladies destroying themselves to save their honour and chastity. The village was then looted and set on fire to efface all traces of any habitation at that place.

NARA

This was a small but beautiful village in the hilly part of Kahuta Tehsil. The population was about 800 and mostly consisted of Sikhs. This was also completely looted and burnt. There was a regular fight between the parties for 4 days. One S. Chet Singh with his rifle shot down 80 men of the mob. When his ammunition was finished he was burnt alive in his house. The Sikhs lost 108 lives, whereas the Muslims lost 100. Some men, women and children were saved by the active help of a few kind hearted Muslims of this and the neighbouring villages at considerable risk to their lives.

KALLAR

This was the second biggest village in the Kahuta Tehsil with a population of 5 to 6 thousands comprising Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. It was situated on the bank of a stream in which flows clear limpid water which at places is sufficiently deep to enjoy a bath therein. It had a police station, an honorary magistrate's court, a hospital, two high schools, a branch post office and an office of the Forest Department. It was a very flourishing village commanding a picturesque scenery.

It was planned to ruin it and kill the Hindus and Sikhs with the help of the muslim police stationed there. The league leaders invited a huge mob to raid the village on the 9th March to surround each Hindu & Sikh shop and to start the loot and killing when a bugle would be blown. But the secret leaked out and as soon as the mob began collecting at one end of the village, in the morning, all Hindu and Sikh shops closed. Moreover the Sub-Inspector of Police was absent on that day. The mob then dispersed. It collected once again, the following day, in the afternoon, when the Sub-Inspector of police was present. The mob consisted of two parties which converged on the village from two different sides. The Sub-Inspector of Police with his force proceeded to meet the parties of the raiders that was yet at some distance from the village and was going to attack it from the Muslim side of the village. The other party then attacked the bazaar and started looting and burning it. The

Hindu-Sikh public at once took positions and fired on the raiders. The womenfolk of the village at once collected in a strong and palatial building, built like a fort. The Sub-Inspector of Police then openly joined the raiders and aided them in looting and burning the bazar and one locality. Many of the raiders were shot dead and the Hindus and Sikhs, while fighting and firing, collected in the Damdama near which the raiders dared not approach. The Military then reached there next day and evacuated the Hindus and Sikhs. The whole bazar along with a locality of the village was burnt. Fortunately only one Sikh life was lost. The buildings were destroyed with gun cotton, and arson was done with petrol and pumps.

Dera Khalsa, Barki, Narali, Kuri, Sagri, Kalam, Chaontra, Riwat, Gugh and all other small Hindu and Sikh villages were made an offering to the devastating flames and many lives were destroyed either by burning alive or killing. There were a number of abductions and forced marriages also. In the village Gugh a young Sikh girl and her brother fell into the hands of raiders. They asked the brother on pain of death to perform the sex act with his sister in their presence. He refused. Both of them were killed. The raiders caught hold of an important sikh along with his son, wife, daughter and daughter-in-law. They tied the sardar and his son to a tree and molested and raped the young ladies. The whole family was crying like anything. When the raiders had satisfied their

carnal lust they killed the ladies one by one and then the youngmen. When the sardar had witnessed the grisly scene he himself was slaughtered. Ah ! Tyranny knows no bounds and recognises no laws of decency written or unwritten.

In connection with this inhuman butchery and orgy of destruction there were very few arrests and all the culprits arrested were openly helped by the Muslim League of the district and the province. While inside the goals the League organization followed their cases and sent them fruits, sweets and other amenities of life and praised them as heroes and patriots of Is'lam. The D. C. Mr Coates was in open alliance with the League. When Hindus and Sikhs approached him for help he openly taunted them. "Go to Gandhi, go to Jawahar Lal, go to Congress. What can I do for you We are soon leaving." This saddened the afflicted people all the more and encouraged the hooligans.

After Aug. 15th there was no major incident in the district, the rural areas of which were already off. There were only some stabbing cases here and there. The Hindu and Sikh population was evacuated by trucks and train, mainly the latter, many of which were attacked on the way.

SHEIKHUPURA.

Sheikhupura, one of the most flourishing rice-markets of the province, and the headquarters of the district, witnessed a carnage of an unprecedented magnitude on the 25th of August, 1947. The authors of the carnage had a well-designed plan.

The town was completely cut off from the rest of the world many days prior to the tragic assignment. Some of the non-Muslims who wanted to quit the town a few days previous to the carnage were thwarted in their attempts by muslim military and police. The District Magistrate promulgated an order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. restricting the movements of all vehicles within Municipal limits. The stabbers with the help of the suthorities had made even travelling by rail impossible. Gangs of then were seen collected on all the main roads.

Suddenly on the 24th August, there was a talk among the Muslims of the town of the imposition of curfew. The Muslim shopkeepers in Hindu localities were seen hurriedly packing up their goods and quitting their shops and residences. Much against the protest of the Hindus and the Sikhs, the District Magistrate announced at about 8—45 P.M. the much dreaded curfew from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m for two consecutive nights. On the first night some Hindu and Sikh shops in the Main bazar, and within a stones throw of the police post, were set fire to by the military patrol on duty. The owners could not

dare extinguish the fire and those who dared were shot dead by the military. The District Magistrate reached the spot and announced the relaxation of the curfew for the purpose of extinguishing the fire. Sardar Lachhman Singh Hakim, a prominent Akali worker and an active member of the Peace Committee, along with another man, who while coming to extinguish the fire were shot dead by the military even when they put up their hands and shouted that the District Magistrate had already ordered the relaxation of the curfew.

On the 25th August, at about 3 p.m. all of a sudden, shots began to be fired from the direction of Ram Garha, suburb of Sheikhupura. The military at the same time began to patrol the town in quick rounds and everybody found running for safety was shot at. Ram Garh was completely burnt down, and the inmates were finished either by killing or burning alive. The old town was similarly trampled. Military was also posted at all chowks and principal houses and roads so that nobody could seek shelter anywhere else. The sentries fired shots after regular and rapid intervals to scare away people to their houses. Bands of strangers of unruly behaviour howling and crying with spears and hatchets, accompanied the military and the police and broke open every house, and looted it and set it on fire.

The Deputy Commissioner, the D.S.P. and a European Colonel themselves were supervising the whole ghastly show. At about 5-30 p.m. it was again announced

by the Publicity Department that curfew was in force and that anybody found outside his house would be shot dead. As a result of the firing many people were killed. This broke their morale and many localities like the new Mohallas, the Lahore Road, the Main Mandi Pazar, and Guru Nanakpura were looted and completely turned. Firing and looting continued the whole night.

Next morning, the 23th August, panic-stricken people, fleeing hither and thither, seeking shelter, were told by the police and the military that relief camps had been opened at three or four places and people anxious to evacuate should go to those places. Accordingly people collected in S. Atma Singh's mill, Gurdwara Namdharian and Messrs. Gopal Singh Amolak Ram's Mill at about 8 a.m.

All of a sudden S. Atma Singh's mill was surrounded by military forces. The people raised an alarm but there was nobody to listen to them. Suddenly at about 9 a.m. a soldier of the military climbed a tree inside the mill and began firing at the people. More military collected inside the mill and they also began firing indiscriminately. The firing continued for about two hours. Several bombs were also thrown on the barracks of the mill to blow them up. After this the firing suddenly stopped. On that occasion Swami Anand Singh, an active Congress worker of the town, came out and in very imploring terms requested the military authorities to let him know their demands. They told him that they would let

everybody go if they paid to them Rs. 1300 and surrendered their arms. This was done by the people. The authorities then asked them to come out of their shelters and form a line so that they could be conducted outside as refugee. But everybody must leave his or her belongings and money. The people putting implicit faith in the bon-fides of the authorities did as they were told and in the twinkling of an eye the Pakistan Military received lakhs' worth of gold, silver and cash. The military then began to separate the young girls. These poor creatures began to implore their men to kill them. Many were then killed. The military once again started firing. Everybody being outside, a large number of them were killed. About 3,000 is the lowest estimate. Hundreds of women were maltreated and abducted. Butchery of the worst type was witnessed. This agony went on till 3 p. m. when the military left the place after calling in goondas who were kept ready for the purpose. They had all sort of weapons as spears, hatchets and guns. They, too, did their job and killed the surviving wounded and searched the pockets of those who had died. This went on till 26th.

The same fate met the other refugee camps. So by the morning of the 27th, Sheikhpura was a city of the dead. The palatial buildings of the Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharam Sabha were destroyed. According to the most conservative estimate not less than 15,000 persons were killed and property worth crores of rupees fell into the

hands of the military, police, and muslim looters, who participated in the well-planned programme of Pakistan.

People were often falsely called out of their houses under the pretext that Sikh military had come to their rescue. Cries of Sat Sri Akal were raised to decoy them. But no sooner had they come out, they were shot dead.

In this carnage and brutality the Congress, Akali and Arya Samaj leaders and workers were the special targets of inhuman brutalities. The building of Arya Samaj Bhawan, the office of the Congress Committee were set on fire in the presence of the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent Police. The prominent among those who were done to death were the mother and wife of Chudhri Hari Ram, Swami Anand Singh who was killed under most inhuman circumstances, S. Amrik Singh, retired D. S. P. S. Charanjit Singh retired Inspector of Police, S. Hazara Singh and his son, Darshan Singh, Gosain Maya Ram advocate. The dead bodies were soon burnt with kerosene oil or thrown into the wells.

This carnage destroyed almost the whole of the town life of Sheikhpura although the countryside yet remained. It was on the 27th that Diwan Chaman Lal and Giani Kartar Singh and others went to the unhappy city but to see only death and destruction.

Pandit Jawahar Lal and Mr. Liaquat Ali both

went to see the destruction of Sheikhupura on August 31st. At one or two places bodies were still burning, apparently these were discovered too late to be removed and were burnt on the spot. The two Prime Ministers were told by a muslim boy how the Baloch Military did the whole mischief there by using machine gun and mortar.

Pandit Nehru questioned the D. C. of the place, Mr. Disney, an Anglo-Indian, about the condition in the interior of the district. He replied that he knew that there were about a lakh of refugees in the interior of the district but did not know who fed them and what their condition was. He did not know how many had died in the district. He, however, remarked that not a single one of the police and military had died or been wounded in the district. This was very significant as it exploded all allegations against the people of having attacked the military and the police.

As the party of Pandit and Liaquat Ali were returning from a round of the town, a group of Muslims stood on the road and stopped Pandit Nehru's car crying "Stop this war. We beg you to stop." Pandit Nehru who had kept cool flared up. It was too much for him to hear from the men who had perpetrated the ghastly tragedy at Sheikhupura. He shouted at them, "Are you not ashamed of yourselves. Have you no conscience left? What do these houses and dead bodies show?" "Who is conducting this war?" Pandit was much affected by the gruesome tragedy of the

town and left it with the question "Sheikhupura is gone out. What is to be done to save hundreds and thousands in the countryside who are cut off from normal communications ?"

Sangla Hill also shared the same fate ; the woeful tragedy there was enacted on September 1. All the Hindus and Sikhs of the place were ordered to leave their houses and collect in the Mandi for the sake of safety of their lives. In the Mandi in the presence of a Magistrate and a Sub-Inspector of Police, by name Kureishy, the Muslim goondas carried on the search of every Hindu and Sikh. It is reported that huge amount of gold, about 9 maunds in weight, was deposited by the mob besides other kinds of property of enormous value. Only three clothes per head were allowed to the refugees. The mob was deadly infuriated against the Sikhs. They cut the Keshas of all Sikhs collected in the Mandi. The eyes of the mob fell upon a beautiful young girl and wanted to take her away. She cried aloud and resisted. She was denuded before her relations and shot in her breast whereupon she fell down as a dead body.

At Warburton, even there were a number of casualties on account of firing by the Muslim Military and the Police on september 8th

The villages around Nankana Sahib, these villages belonged to Hindus and Sikhs, were attacked and looted by the muslim mob, consisting of the military, the police and goondas, attacked the village at

one time. looted people. The fire burned with a vengeance and the flames were visible miles away. The lives however were saved as they were more than a match for the enemy and slowly entered Nankana Sahib fighting.

The village Bhaler was attacked by a huge mob on Aug 5.th There a regular fight took place which lasted 28. hours. About 1000 fatal casualties were-inflicted. Hindus and Sikhs killed their own women folk to be able to fight unhampered. The village was suddenly attacked by an armed mob 7,000 to 8,000 in strength, on August 31. When the villagers opened fire and one raider was killed the mob, withdrew from that corner but reappeared on the other side. The villagers fired here too and the mob moved back. The mob was reinforced by the police and the military. There was then a pitched fight for 4 hours. On the morning of September 1st the strength of the mob increased further with the military reinforcement. A regular fight once again ensued for several hours. The villagers then finding themselves at a loss killed many of their womenfolk and children. There was a severe fight there as between armies. At this time a new armed Sikh Jatha arrived there from an adjoining village. The muslim military having exhausted its ammunition withdrew suddenly. This demoralized the mob that was engaged in looting. The Sikhs then attacked the looters and killed many of them.

Thereafter trucks and trains were sent to other district and the surviving Hindus and Sikhs were evacuated to India.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

5

This was a very busy city, full of industries such as sports goods, Surgical, E.P.N.S., Rubber, Trunks and Leather goods. It was called the Japan of India. Its population was 1,10,000 out of which 90 000 were engaged in the above mentioned industries. Every one in the city was prosperous and leading a happy life till Aug. 12th 1947.

On Aug. 13th serious communal riots started in the heart of the city, systematically engineered by a mob of several thousands. The mob started looting and burning the Hindu mohallas, shops and factories and killing and shooting them. There was complete chaos and destruction on the 13th, 14th and 15th and the city was in ruins. From the 16th to 24th the situation was somewhat under control but from the 25th arson and stabbing was started again. On the 27th a 21 hour curfew was imposed.

A number of important factories owned by Hindus and Sikhs were completely destroyed. Some of the more important of them are Rubber mills, the National Rubber Mills, Messrs, Gian Chand Munshi Ram's Mills, and Balwant Singh grain market.

A train which was coming from Wazirabad to Sialkot on the 18th was stopped on the way and general slaughter and looting took place. All Hindus and Sikhs were killed except about 50 who were seriously injured. Another train leaving Sialkot for Jammu carrying Hindus and Sikhs

was derailed and several casualties took place. Two more trains coming from Wazirabad, one on the 15th and the other on the 18th, were stopped near Sialkot and a large number of Hindns and Sikhs, men, women and children were killed. Some of the dead bodies were thrown into the Upper Chenab and the rest were taken out at the Sialkot station. Yet another train bound for Jammu on the 20th was derailed, outside the station and many Hindus and Sikhs were killed and wounded.

Thereafter the trouble started in several areas of the district and complete chaos reigned there.

On August 18th the town of Narowal was attacked by an armed Muslim mob at noon. All wealthy Hindus and Sikhs of the town were looted within two hours.

The village of Zaffarwal was completely destroyed and a large number of women were taken away. Snakhatra' Virem, Saddowala, Mirakpur, Kotli Mula' were the scenes of carnage, forcible conversion, and rape. The womenfolk were molested and tken killed and their children were smashed on the ground. And this was done with the help and connivance of Muslim police and Military.

A foot caravan of about 60 men and women left the evillage of Saddowala on August 25th. When the caravan reached the banks of the river Ravi thay found all boats missing. They had to wait there helplessly. Soon they

were attacked by an armed mob two thousand strong to the accompaniment of drum beats. Many young women seeing their men surrounded jumped into the river to save their honour. The raiders also jumped into the river and took several of them out and captured them. One young, beautiful girl had a baby one and a half years old. The raiders took hold of her and asked her to become a Muslim. She refused. Her baby was snatched away from her possession and killed. Even then the girl was bold enough to tell them that for the sake of Dharma hundreds of such children could be sacrificed. The attackers then wanted to take her away forcibly but she sat down and refused to move. She was killed.

The village of Badomali, having a population of 8,000 Hindus and Sikhs was attacked by a Muslim mob on August 29. The village was set on fire and kept burning throughout the night. The people who attempted to come out were shot dead. About 400 girls were taken away and most of the men burnt alive. In Classwala also a large number of men were killed and women abducted.

A refugee train from Sialkot between Pasrur and Alipur Railway stations was attacked by the mob and many lives were lost.

In Tehsil Shakargarh the devil danced naked. The Muslim National Guards came there in large numbers and on Aug. 15 got into a passenger train and killed every Hindu and Sikh. They stood on the Ravi bridge and threw into the river all those who happened to cross it

on foot. Everywhere small villages of Hindus and Sikhs were burning. Blood was freely flowing and vultures were feasting on human flesh. The vile and the wicked were tormenting the young girls. On Aug. 18 a Muslim mob with the aid of a Sub-Inspector of Police, attacked the refugees near Kartarpur. Many women, seeing the mob proceeding towards them, stabbed themselves and many got themselves sacrificed by their own men. Many jumped into the river and were carried down by the current. On seeing this attitude of these brave womenfolk, the refugees took courage and gave a stiff fight to the mob but being too small in number they all perished and out of 400 only 4 survived, who jumped into the river Ravi and were soon out of the reach of the mob.

In the village Bhiko Chak that remained quiet up to Sept 25, the Muslims fell upon refugees, 130 in number, despite giving them assurances that they would do them no harm. As soon as they reached river Ravi, they killed 80 of them and took away 30 young girls. Only 16 persons including 2 women saved themselves by jumping into the river, and reached the Indian side of the bank.

SIND AND KARACHI

This unfortunate province has been the scene of many a gruesome and cold blooded murder, assassination, persecution and lawlessness for long. It had passed through many delicate stages and had been the venue of feverish activity of most objectionable type of topmost men in the personnel of the Government. In pursuit of that game of ruse and trickery, selfishness and self-aggrandisement personalities like Allah Bux and a number of M.L.A's were shot and assassinated. Such things went on till the province was declared safe for the Muslim League and Mr Jinnah could swagger about as its undisputed master.

As soon as the League Ministry came into power in the province, and Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah became the premier, he declared his policy towards the minorities by saying "Before this our policy was of toleration but now we shall resort to retaliation." This made Hindus and Sikhs of the province, who had been living there for generations, and acquired enormous landed property, set up huge business, and started institutions, gurdawaras and temples, and had distinctive culture of their own, called Sindhi, became nervous. Realising that the policy of the League was based on hatred and persecution of Hindus and Sikhs, and hearing the announcement that Karachi was to be the Capital of Pakistan, the minorities of the province began to desert it for good at a rapid pace. The desire for loot and ill-gotten gains occupied the minds of

Muslims, especially when encouraged by the League leaders and their agents.

The conflict between the Muslims and the Hindus and Sikhs came soon.

On Sept 1, a Muslim mob attacked a Sikh family in Nawabshah in the evening. One person was killed. Three persons, including a woman, saved their lives by hiding in a nearby field. The assailants looted the house and set it on fire. In another quarter of the town bombs were thrown on the house of a doctor who had given shelter to some Sikhs. Later, gun shots were also fired on the house. In other parts of the district attacks were made on Sikhs and their property was looted. The Sikhs then began to leave the Karachi district after selling away their property at low prices.

On Sept 2, a gang of Muslim looters attacked a passenger train, killed 15 passengers, injuring 12 more and carried away 4 women. Cases were reported from Sakandu and other villages around Nawabshah. Section 144 was then enforced in the district.

The trouble started once again in the province and at Karachi a crowd of Muslims collected at the railway station and attacked the passengers with lethal weapons, killing 3 and wounding 5 of them. The trouble then spread in other parts of the city where 5 persons were killed and many injured. This happened on Sept 9. The evacuation of minorities was then accelerated.

Thereafter the Government restricted the liberty of the press and did not allow the publication of factual

news and relevant comments. The Sind Observer's liberty was restricted and the editor had to leave the paper. The assistant editor was also tormented. Along with it the Government put obstacles in the way of evacuation of minorities by not providing proper facilities. Sir Ghulam Hussain went about preaching in the city of Karachi that the minorities should not desert the province. He even went so far to say that Mr. Jinnah does not want exchange of population which was in direct contravention of his wishes, he expressed before partition. Anyhow neither Mr. Jinnah nor Sir Ghulam Hussain condemned the action of hooligans.

The process of slow and gradual persecution and killing, especially of Sikhs, though not much known to the outside world, went on in the province of Sind. Kidnapping even was also there. On Oct. 8 reports came of the kidnapping of 4 Hindu women in the village of Padidan in Nawabshah district and of the looting of Hindu property. On Nov. 5, came the news of the murder of an aged Gujrati shopkeeper in his shop, opposite to the city Magistrate's court. The body bore 42 knife wounds including 14 in the neck.

: Yet a still more grisly and horrible tragedy of loot and killing occurred at Karachi as late as January very close to the Pakistan Secretariat.

The Pakistan Capital was seriously disturbed on January 6. As a result of panic due to the influx of

Muslim refugees in Karachi, and disturbances in Hyderabad on December 17, the non-Muslims had started quitting Sind. They were collecting in Karachi for evacuation to India by ship.

A mob, which was small in the beginning, but grew up to 20,000 attacked the Sikh Gurdawara near Ratan Talao, where 250 Sikhs had been quartered for transit before evacuation, at noon time. The mob set fire to the Gurdawara which was at a stone's throw from the Pakistan Secretariat and killed 118 Sikhs inside it. There were present a few policemen on duty near the Gurdawara but they did not take any action against the attackers.

The mob then started looting and killing at other places in the city. The Military was posted in the city but it did not interfere. The loot and killing went on for 12 hours. Many of the employees of the Pakistan Secretariat also participated. Shops and houses 3,000 in number were looted. The Arya Putre Pathshala and the Khadi Bhandar were looted and burnt. The looting occurred in localities of Bundar Road, Kharadar, Mithadar, Marriot Road, Jodia Bazar. Nanikwara, Renckore lines, etc. The looting went on, on Wednesday even. Looting and killing started in buses and trains even. It occasioned to the Hindus a loss of over 3 crores of rupees. Twelve temples were looted and desecrated. About 175 persons were killed.

After this incident evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs was accelerated. But every one was searched before

embarkation and even towels, handkerchiefs and other house-hold articles of petty value were snatched away from them. The ladies were deprived of their nose and eae-rings even.

CHAPTER VIII

Indian Dominion Area.

AMRITSAR

Amritsar was the second important city of the Punjab regarding population and Government work. But as regards Industrial importance, commerce and business transactions, the city easily took the first place.. It is the holy city of the Sikhs, having the Golden Temple in its heart. It also owes its importance to Jallianwala Bagh, where a large number of Indian patriots were shot down by an English General, Dyer, in cold blood.

In the centre of the city is the Golden Temple with a vast tank that is replenished by a canal, Hansali. All round it are big markets of cloth, books and stationery, jewelry, utensils, shoes, steel and iron ware, leather articles, sugar and jams, bamboos, cots, medicines, grains, salts and timber. All these markets are owned and run by Hindus and Sikhs. Surrounding this part of the city were the labour localities of Muslims, and the fruit vegetable and hide markets, owned and managed by Muslims. Then there is the outermost circle, some localities of which, like Lawrence Road, Civil Lines. and Sultanwind Gate are inhabited by Hindus and Sikhs and others like Sharifpura, Islamabad, Haripura, Bhagtanwala Gate and Chatiwind were occupied purely by Muslims. There are radial bazars

terminating at the Golden Temple which is the nerve centre of the city. The most important of these bazars is the Hall Bazar which was predominantly surrounded by Muslims streets.

Amritsar was populated by people of all kinds of communities and faiths such as Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Jains and Parsies. The number of Muslim in the city was greater than that of any other community. But it was known as the city of Sikhs and was the industrial town of Northern India.

On hearing of communal trouble and sudden collapse of the Coalition Ministry at Lahore, the Sikhs of Amritsar wanted to organise a religious meeting of their own in the premises of the Golden Temple. For this purpose they sent out an announcer in a tonga in the evening of the 4th March. A Muslim National Guards man tried to prevent him by abuses and show of physical strength. The Sikh announcer was carrying a kirpan with which he threatened him and he (the Muslim) ran away to save himself. On the 5th the Sikhs passed a resolution declaring their firm resolve not to participate in the formation of a Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab and urging upon all the Sikhs to stand united in this hour of danger to the very existence of the Sikh Community. The Muslims of Amritsar, who were already organised and prepared for any clash with any community, could not tolerate the action of the Sikhs.

They wanted to force the Sikhs and the Hindus to agree to League Ministry at the pain of disturbances. They at once in the evening of the 5th occupied the Hall Bazar and began looting and burning the Hindu shops in it and cut off Amritsar from the outside world. Similarly they took possession of Rambagh area, and Lohgarh Gate and Hathi Gate and treated them in the same way. One could see a sea of helmeted Muslim mob armed with swords and lances, ready to kill any Hindu and Sikh. The cries of *Ya Ali* and *Allah-O-Akbar* rent the sky and huge columns of smoke from Hindu and Sikh shops reached high. The telephone and telegraph wires of the city were either cut off or controlled by the League agents. This went on the 5th and the whole of the 6th of March. This the Muslims could do with the help of the police, 90 per cent of which was Muslim. The Muslims did much harm to Amritsar and the property of Hindus and Sikhs. The Hindus who were also slightly organised, and the Sikhs who were not at all organised managed to pool their resources together and retaliated effectively. The League Leaders distributed arms, such as guns, pistols, swords, spears, axes, lances, sticks and helmets, free among their workers. The Sikhs purchased spears and swords from Sikh shops at very heavy cost. Hell was let loose in the city. Houses and shops were put on fire, and human life lost all its value and sanctity and places of worship were destroyed. The city was full of cries of 'Ya Ali', 'Sat Sri Akal', 'Kill the Kafir',

'Kill the Musla', and 'Pakistan Zindabad,' and 'Pakistan Murdabad.' Fire and smoke in the city were visible from great distances. Pools of blood stained its bazars and streets and corpses of men, women and children lay sacrificed everywhere and moved down the gutters. The city became a veritable hell. A train coming from Pathankot which had a Muslim driver was stopped near Sharifpura by a Muslim mob. About a hundred Hindus and Sikhs were butchered and an equal number injured. This, spread fear and alarm among the non muslim population of the city.

On the 5th and 6th of March the Muslims ruled over the city and the Hindus and Sikhs lost heavily. On the 7th the Hindus and Sikhs cooperated and some Sikh jathas poured in from outside and turned the tables. A large number of Muslims were killed and burned alive. About 80 women along with their children fell into the hands of the Sikhs but they were escorted back to their relatives soon after this phase of the disturbances was over. The D.C., Mr. Frazer, and the S.P., Mr. Dean, at once became cautious and imposed 24-hour curfew on the city. there was then relaxation for 2 hours and once again curfew.

This state of affairs went on for some days. During the curfew hours even fires went on in the city and here and there stabbing of men and women occurred. People, mostly Hindus and Sikhs, approached the D.C. for help but he said. "Go to Gandhi, Go to Jawahar Lal. I cannot do anything." But on the whole the city became quiet and normal business was resumed, although a state

of tension did exist between the Hindus and Sikhs on one side and the Muslims on the other.

During these disturbances ten percent of the city or according to the estimate of the Executive officer, Mr. P.C. Bhandari, 5000 houses and shops were burnt and loss of 8 crores of rupees occasioned. Big bazars like Hall Bazar, (now Gandhi Bazar) Katra Kanayan, Katra Jaimal Singh, and Lohgarh were destroyed.

Pandit Nehru, the then Vice-President of the Interim Government, visited the riot-affected areas of Amritsar on March 13. He was taken round by the officials and leaders of the city and told the stories of woes and sufferings of the people and the excesses of Muslim mobs and Muslim-dominated and European Officered police. At one place he was given an account by an old woman of how a Muslim Sub-Inspector of Police, named Malik, incharge of the D, Division of the City himself led a Muslim mob on a burning, killing and looting mission and when her only son came out to extinguish the fire that was consuming his shop he was shot dead by the Malik.

After about a month or so the disturbances once again flared up in Amritsar and stabbing and fire-raising increased in severity. Bombs, mostly hand grenades, came to be used by the rioters. This state of affairs went on for about three weeks and there were many pitched battles and the loss of Hindus and Sikhs was greater than that of Muslims. Much of the population vacated

the city. The Sikhs became more panicky than others.

In the third flare-up, which began with the killing of a Sikh Sub-Inspector of police in the Hall Bazar, the loss was still greater. The Amritsar A.D.M. Mr. Ikram-u'-Haq played a predominant part in harrying and ruining the Hindus and Sikhs. He encouraged the Muslims to go to their burnt mosques in large numbers, accompanied by the Muslim Police, to say their prayers, on Fridays, with the result that every Friday was a day of alarm for the Hindus and Sikhs. This went on till the middle of July.

Towards the close of July news began to pour into the city of the killing of Muslims in the countryside. Mr. Brander had by now taken over the charge of the city as its Deputy Commissioner. This to some extent raised the morale of the people, especially of the Hindus and Sikhs. But the curfew was never relaxed. In the beginning of August the frequency of bomb attacks and killing of persons increased. Along with it fire-raising also shot up. Some important changes also took place among the officials of the police. Mr. Kaul was appointed as the Superintendent of Police. The mob fury, even then did not decrease. The famous Gobind Garh Fort was set on fire by the Muslim Police and records were destroyed.

One could easily hear of very severe disturbances on the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th of the month. The fear and tension in the city increased enormously. In these days a bomb exploded in the compound of the

Session Court and some Muslims were killed and injured. Another bomb exploded in the court of the A. D. M. who was a Muslim. He saved himself by hiding under his table while a few Muslim casualties took place. He resigned and left for Pakistan. During the night of the 9th there was free firing by the police and the Muslim National Guards men on the Sikh localities which terrified them. On the small locality where the author lives 200 shots were fired.

On the 10th, by the order of the S. S. P. the Muslim police were picked up from their duty and those who had opted for Pakistan were disarmed and some of them sent away to Lahore. On that day near about 2000 Muslims were killed by the Hindus and Sikhs and there were cases of the killing of women also. This unnerved the Muslim community and they left their places to concentrate at three or four places. On the subsequent 4 days every night, beginning with nightfall, continuous bombing was heard which lasted for the whole night and the people were much terrified. This broke the morale of the Muslims and they began to evacuate the city. But the delay in the Boundary Commissions award still sustained their hopes. With the announcement of the award, all hopes of the Muslims, who had firmly stuck to the city and never thought of leaving it, and had converted it into a powerful citadel, were shattered and they fled away to the railway station to entrain for Lahore, bidding

good-bye to the city.

During all those five months and a half the city of Amritsar, unlike any other city of the Punjab, was the scene of stabbing, fire raising and bombing as if in a stage of siege. It had been a city of hopes and disappointments, conflict and destruction. The curfew was never relaxed. Half of the city is in ruins. None can predict its future although every one will pray for the restoration of its past glory and importance.

Such has been the fate of the holy city of the Golden Temple and the Jallianwala Bagh.

DELHI.

Delhi, the Capital of India, also has been the scene of communal disturbances of grave nature. In fact it is there that the seeds of all communal bickerings and hatred were sown by the doings of the British Government and the League policy and programme and the consequent spirit of retaliation by others.

In Delhi there were about three lakhs and a half Muslims and it is these people who had planned for the League's propaganda and organised, supported and assisted it most actively in every way. Even after partition and creation of Pakistan, Muslim Leaguers in India would not rest. Their idea clearly seemed to be something higher and in pursuit of the speeches of their leaders, e.g., 'Pakistan is not our last demand, it is our least demand' they organised to create disturbances in Delhi even.

On Aug. 31 stabbing started in the suburbs of Delhi. Three dead bodies were found near Ganda, Nala, Civil Lines. One person was shot by a revolver and his body was found in Yusuf Sarai (Mehrauli). Another body was found in the jurisdiction of Narela police station near the village of Barwala. Five persons more were found dead in different localities. On Sept. 1, a Balloch accompanying a Pakistan bound train assaulted a few Hindu passengers at the Station. A serious clash occurred at Palam where 6 persons were killed and 9 injured. These were mostly stray cases

done by individuals of both parties. The District Magistrate of Delhi imposed curfew on the Municipal Area from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m.

On Sept. 5 four persons were killed and 47 injured and 5 houses and shops were burnt in different parts of the city. A bomb exploded in Timarur area injuring 15 persons. In Subzimandi a clash between the parties took place and 17 persons were killed. In Sadar Bazar there were 6 stray assaults, In Karol Bagh one man was killed and seven were injured and 5 houses and shops were burnt.

On Sept 6 there was great tension in all parts of the city and all the main markets and streets were closed. In the early hours 17 dead bodies were found in Aliganj, near Lodhi Colony. A Muslim mob of about 5000 strong came from the Gurgaon side to attack the village of Tuglakabad. The police and troops rushed there and dispersed the mob. A large Muslim mob armed with belchas, lathies and bombs came out of Fatehpuri Mosque after Jumma prayers and attacked Ishwar Bhawan Market aided by a Muslim officer who fired at many unarmed Hindus. A great panic prevailed among the Hindus of the locality. A bomb exploded in the Fatehpuri Mosque in the afternoon.

In Paharganj the Muslims who were thoroughly prepared and equipped with automatic weapons fired freely on Hindus and Sikhs and also on the Military

and inflicted much loss. They had more ammunition than the military even. It was with great difficulty that the situation could be controlled here.

In Karal Bagh arson and stabbing started on a large scale. The military and police reached there and evacuated people to safe places. At night the streets in Delhi were found deserted, tongas were seen burning and families were being evacuated with police escort. A large number of Meos were found concentrating in and around Delhi and New Deli. In the District Jail Khaksars attacked the warders. The situation would have taken a serious turn but for the timely arrival of the Gurkha troops who opened fire and dispersed them. The total number of casualties on that day were over 50 dead and 150 injured.

On Sept 8 the Muslims took an offensive in Karol Bagh. Many Hindus living in the neighbourhood of Dr. Joshi's nursing home felt unsafe and took shelter in the hospital on Sept 7, and many more went there on the morning of Sept. 8 ; so that about 200 to 300 of them were collected there. About 11-30 a.m. a crowd of Muslims, about 150 or 200 in number, armed with various kinds of weapons, collected in a small lane, Shamshi Kucha. Leading the mob was Dr. Qureshi who was armed with a rifle and accompanied by two other men similarly armed one Dr. Qureshi's compounder and the other a Muslim constable, Dr. Qureshi was a prominent member of the Muslim League. The mob started firing their

guns close to the Hospital and the Hindus became panicky. When Dr. Joshi came to know of this he decided to go out to see if he could stop the trouble. He alone went to Shamshi Kucha with the object of speaking to Dr. Qureshi. But he had proceeded only a few yards when he was fired at by Dr. Qureshi. He fell down dead. Some persons tried to get to him but they were fierd upon and got injured. The police and military arrived at the spot but Dr. Qureshi and the gang ran away. Dr. Qureshi was later on arrested on Sept. 18. After that crowds of both parties collected near the Delhi Cloth Mills but the military dispersed them.

The Hindus and Sikhs thereafter became more active and aggressive. They started stabbing Muslims and burning their houses. A number of stabbing incidents took place in different parts of the city.

On Sept. 9 the situation took a serious turn and there were open battles between the mobs of the two parties in different parts of the city, and many casualties took place. The Government took a serious view of the situation and detailed a large detachment of the military with strict orders to shoot to kill and be strictly impartial in observance of duty. There were then regular pitched battles between the mobs and the military. The Military used armoured cars. A military aircraft flew over the city. There were far more casualties from military firing than by stabbing.

A committee known as the Emergency Committee

was formed to counteract any paralysis of the civil administration. The Committee derived its authority from and was responsible to the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet. It arranged for the civil work of emergent nature at Delhi.

Sept 10, the day of Janam Ashtmi, was the blackest in Delhi. On account of enormous number of casualties, curfew was imposed. The District Magistrate of Delhi issued an order prohibiting the carrying of all weapons, including kirpans of all sizes, for a period of one week from that night. The Prime Minister, in a broadcast on the communal disturbances in the city said. "we are dealing with a situation which is analogous to war and we are going to deal with it on a war basis in every sense of the word. There is going to be no lessening in future in dealing with this situation". The situation was then fully controlled.

Many Muslims were then rendered homeless and nearly one lakh of them assembled in three different localities waiting to be evacuated to Pakistan.

The Dominion Ministers thereupon paid surprise visits to the police stations, the Town Hall, the Willingdon Airport and inspected the security arrangements. They also visited the Paharganj police station which had been a storm centre and the Purana Qila and suggested suitable food, housing and clothing arrangements for Muslim refugees. It was learnt that the refugees had in their possession guns, ammuni-

tion and transmitters. Near the House of Parliament, inside a mosque, a tunnel was found which, it is said, led to the interior of the house of Parliament. It was full of guns, ammunition and a couple of machine-guns. This it was believed was an arrangement to assassinate the Dominion Ministers and the Members of the Parliament and then to fly the Muslim Flag on the Delhi Fort. More intensive searches were made and the culprits were asked to deposit all arms and explosive material.

On September 11, as a result of mob fury and police and military action, 94 casualties were admitted to Delhi Hospitals out of which 42 had bullet wounds. Then two trains full of Muslim Meos left Delhi.

As a result of action by the Ministers and the D.C. considerable improvement took place in the Imperial city. Muslim shops opened in Khari Baoli, Pahari Dhiraj, Saddar Bazar, Qutab Road and Bara Hindu Rao. There was increased traffic in all parts of the city. Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by a few Hindus and Muslims, moved through the seriously affected places of Delhi and conferred with the inhabitants to restore confidence among them.

But on September 20 the peace of the city was once again disturbed. A party of four Pakistan soldiers presumably of the Balloch Regiment opened fire on a Sikh, killing him outright, while he was standing beside a private bus. A huge crowd, thereupon collected around the truck carrying the Pakistan troops and

tried to block its way. The Pakistan troops then threatened to fire on the crowd. The arrival of the military and the police on the spot saved the situation and the Pakistan troops were disarmed and taken in custody.

A serious disturbance was then caused by the Muslims of Phatak Habash Khan in old Delhi. The Muslims, opened fire on the troops patrolling the area. Upon this the fire was returned by the troops. This did not silence the Muslim guns and the military had to resort to the use of machine guns. The duel went on for over four hours and reports of brisk firing were heard all over New Delhi. The Muslim guns were ultimately silenced and it is believed the aggressors retreated farther into the city under cover of darkness.

There was also a regular gun battle between a Muslim mob in Gali Shatara in Hauz Kazi and the military and the police. The mob was armed with 303 rifles. The hooligans started firing at people at about 9 p.m. After about 20 minutes the military arrived there and replied to the fire. A regular gun battle then ensued which continued till mid-night. In the morning several houses were searched by the police in that locality but they were unable to recover arms and ammunition used by the hooligans. More military and police were drafted in the city which combed the entire area with patrols.

There was then evidence of the return of Muslim refugees to their houses in Paharganj, Qutab Road, etc.

The Idgah Muslim refugee camp even was deserted and white flags were seen fluttering on several Muslim houses around the Idgah.

Y A very strange thing was discovered at Delhi at this time. It was found that the official records of Pakistan that were packed up in boxes and loaded in trucks had guns, revolvers, daggers, cartridges, empty shells, gun powder and other material for filling cartridges. The police seized all these arms.

By now 35,000 Muslims left the city for Pakistan.

Thereafter the Hindus and the Muslims of different localities in the city arranged common meetings and pledged to help each other. A prominent part in this connection was taken by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. The D.C. of the place, Mr. Randhawa made very active efforts by meetings and private assurances to promote peace and mutual good-will between Hindus, Muslims Sikhs. Such steps had very salutary effects and the Muslims resumed their normal work and began to move about freely in their Mohallas as well as in Hindu localities and so was also the case with the members of other communities.

After this date there were very few cases and the city was vitrually quiet and peaceful.

But the peace of this great city was seriously threatened when once again Pakistan gave provocation of killing hundreds of Hindus and Sikhs in a refugee train coming from Bannu at Gujrat and at Karachi Gandhiji

to check recrudescence of trouble undertook fast unto death on January 13, 1948. The Hindu and Sikh leaders conferred together and pledged to do their utmost to establish communal harmony in the city and treat Muslims as their brethren. Gandhiji then broke his fast.

By this time two lakh Muslims had left Delhi for Pakistan. But the resentment of Hindus and Sikhs against the provocation given to them by Pakistan and the disloyal Muslims of India was so intense that a Hindu threw a bomb on Gandhiji, apparently to blow him up, as all what Gandhiji said for the sake of Muslims was highly repellent to them. Gandhiji happily escaped. But it was not all over. On January 30, one Nathu Ram Godse of Poona, actually shot Gandhiji down with a pistol, firing three shots, point black at him, while he was going in the evening for his daily prayer. This killed Gandhiji and plunged Delhi as well as the whole country, nay the world, into mourning and weeping.

FEROZEPORE DISTRICT.

This district experienced horrible disturbances on a fairly extensive scale and the loss of life and property was quite heavy. There were also a good many cases of abduction, conversion and rape.

Hooliganism in this district was organised and started by a party of sikhs who had gone there as refugees from Rawalpindi district, after losing whatever they had, in the month of March. This party called itself 'Singh Brothers.' The Rashtriya Sangh also helped in creating disturbances by planning and throwing bombs on the Muslims. Disturbances, on an extensive scale, started on August 16.

Moga Tehsil. This tehsil was the first to be affected. On July 28, a party of 7 armed Sikhs attacked the Muslims of the village Kokri Arayan and killed 19 Muslims. On August 13 Molvi Hidayat Ullah, the president of the local Muslim League, was shot at in the Sadar Bazar. He was taken to the hospital where he breathed his last. On August 15 Mr. Abdul Aziz, the Naqa Magistrate was shot at in a Bazar while he was going home after doing his court duty. He was in his car. Some Hindus and sikhs followed him telling him that they wanted to see him off as he was to leave for Pakistan on that day. In the Bazaar his car was stopped and he was shot at. He was taken to the hospital where he died. The same day two Muslim Sub-Inspectors of Police of Dharmkot who were going to take care of his

family, while passing through a Bazar were suddenly overpowered by a Hindu-Sikh mob and stabbed to death. Thereafter, on August 19 looting and burning of the Muslim houses started in the town of Moga. Men, women and children were mercilessly done to death. About 200 deaths took place. Even some of the ailing patients in hospitals were killed. A Muslim lady doctor was killed on the premises of the hospital. The trouble then spread to the villages, where many deaths of Muslims took place between August 16 and 30.

At the village of Singhan Wala there were many pitched battles which lasted for 36 hours. When the Muslims had exhausted their ammunition, they were surrounded. Some managed to escape. About 150 Muslims were killed.

At Badni the Muslims offered some resistance but as they did not have many fire-arms—only 2 rifles—they were overpowered and 150 of them were put to death.

At Botar 200 Muslims were killed and many houses were burnt.

Samadh Bhai was also disturbed and about 500 Muslims were killed there. One hundred girls were abducted.

Mari Mustafa was the scene of very tragic happenings. The local Sikhs first of all protected the Muslims for 5 or 6 days against the attackers but ultimately declared their helplessness when the attackers' number increased. The Muslims were collected in a big haveli and they were

told that they would soon be evacuated to Pakistan. They were then asked to embrace Sikhism and they agreed. But no, nothing doing. The Muslims were not trusted. They were then taken out of the haveli in batches of 25. Four such batches were killed. But the attackers considered this process too slow. They then entered the haveli and began to massacre the Muslims indiscriminately. About 1000 deaths took place. The dead bodies were then loaded in carts and taken away and thrown into the pits outside the village. Many beautiful women were taken away.

At Bagha Purana there were 600 Muslims. The attackers were divided in two parties ; one was only for looting the Muslims and then letting them go, and the second for first looting them and then killing. The former after doing their job escorted the Muslims safe to Kapurthala while the latter looted the Muslims and killed about 200 of them.

At village Chagawan the attackers, not very large in number, were dressed in Military uniform. They asked the Muslims to come out of their houses, carrying with them whatever valuables they could to be sent to Pakistan. The Muslims obeyed and were led by the pseudo-military men. But when they reached a close-by road another party which was ready for the purpose fell upon them and killed about 100 of them. The rest ran away. The village Madhoke also lost about 50 lives.

Zeera Tehsil:- Here the Muslims were in majority

and many more collected there from the neighbouring places. It was attacked on Aug 26 and 27, and many lives were lost. The village of Talwandi was attacked by a Hindu-Sikh mob, 10000 strong. The Muslims resisted the attack for 2 days but ultimately yielded and a large number of deaths took place. The village Tehara on the first day repulsed the attack but on the second yielded and suffered heavily in mortality and abduction. At the village Kishenpura the Muslims were collected in a big haveli for purposes of evacuation. A party of 20 attackers armed with rifles, pistols and hand grenades reached the village. But the local Hindus and Sikhs who had received Rs. 35,000 from the Muslims to protect them did not allow the attack to develop. They with the help of 4 or 5 policemen had some of the Muslims evacuated during the night, but when these poor people had gone a distance of 1 mile from the village they were suddenly attacked by the armed party. About 200 were killed who were thrown into a canal. The next day the military reached there and evacuated the rest of the Muslims to Pakistan.

Some deaths took place at Kahnar and Dholewal. About 7 villages along the river side were burnt.

Fazilka Tehsil:— On Aug 16 the Muslims of Fazilka town held a meeting and decided to disturb the peace of the town on the Id day i.e Aug 18, after Jumma prayers. Somehow the plan leaked out and the news reached the ears of Rao Sikhs who hurried to take a lead

and began to loot the Muslims at night. A party of 100 Rao Sikhs looted 150 shops. The S.D.O. of the place reached there and restored peace in the town.

On Aug 18 when the tricolour was hoisted in the town the Vice-President of the Municipality, Molvi Din Mohammed, openly said in a bazar that the Muslims would not show loyalty to the flag. He collected a small crowd of Muslims and reached in front of the Tehsil courts shouting Muslim League slogans. The police which was yet preponderatingly Muslim did not interfere. Nihang Singhs reached the place and a fight took place between the two parties in which only 2 or 3 Muslim were killed. Thereafter the Muslim police was disarmed and curfew was imposed on the town. But during the curfew hours many Muslims were killed. Next day the curfew was imposed only on the Hindus and Sikhs to enable the authorities to evacuate the Muslims. Arms were demanded of the Muslims. Some, who refused to hand over the arms, were shot by the Military.

On Aug 20 and 21 there was a general slaughter of Muslims all over the villages. Dead bodies were thrown into the canal whose water became red with blood. A foot caravan of 2000 Muslims passing near Chimnevala was looted and allowed to go. About 1000 Muslims were killed in this Tehsil.

Mukatsar Tehsil — Here the Muslims drew up a scheme to attack the Hindus and Sikhs at 7 p.m. on Aug 21 under the command of a League Muslim who was

the manager of wells. The Hindus and Sikhs got the information. They were advised by a Sikh, Baghel Singh, to start disturbances themselves at 5 p.m. A Muslim watchman was the first casualty. This served as a signal for a flare up. Killing and looting started everywhere in the town of Mukatsar. By 10 p.m. many Muslims had been despatched to death. Next day the Muslim Dal from Farid Kot State passed through this Tehsil. A party of Sikhs threw a hand grenade on them which separated the Dal into two parts, one returned to Farid Kot and the other was stranded there. About 2500 of the men, women and children in the latter half were brutally killed and the killing continued for four long days.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

In this district where the population of Muslims was 28.3 per cent i. e 285,208 out of the total number of 1,006,709 according to the census of 1941. Disturbances broke out on Aug 26. They started at Bhiwani. The origin was that a Muslim customer while dealing with a Hindu shopkeeper assaulted him. A crowd of Hindus gathered round and caught hold of the Muslim and beat him. This attracted a mob of Muslims. There was a fight between the two parties and 49 people were injured. They were admitted to the hospital where 5 died. The Muslims were heavily armed. There was then acute tension in the town. All the bazars remained closed for three days.

On Aug 28 a big Muslim mob, about 5000 in number, collected in the town with a view to looting and arsoning. They raised objectionable slogans. They were armed to the teeth. They shelled the town. The police soon reached the spot and tried to disperse the mob. The mob then started firing on the police. A regular battle ensued which lasted 6 hours. The Military also arrived there to assist the police.

About 2000 Muslims were taken captive and were searched. From their possession heaps of ammunition and large number of guns, rifles, and revolvers were recovered. Five country-made cannons which were mounted on house-tops and on a mosque were also captured by the police. The rest of the mob, 3000 in

number with a large number of guns, rifles, revolvers and ammunition, escaped into the villages, where ultimately they were rounded up. They then demanded that they should be sent to Pakistan. A camp was opened for them by the local authorities.

These disturbances resulted in the death of 100 persons and injuries to 130.

In other towns of the district where there was a mixed population the situation remained tense those days but nothing untoward happened.

On Sept 21 a Muslim mob 8000 strong from village Jhobi attacked the Hindu village of Bahu. Many deaths took place. A police patrol was then sent there and quiet was restored.

On Sept 29 there was trouble in the village Chang. The Muslim villages opened fire on military and police which went there to repair the canal bridge. The police fired in return and there were a few casualties.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

The hooliganism started by Muslims at Lahore and Amritsar in march had its influence in the district of Hoshiarpur also although it was very minor. On March 7 an old Muslim died and it was rumoured by the Muslims that he was killed by Hindus. The Muslims then tried to stop two Sikh cyclists who were on their way from Anandpur. One escaped while the other was stabbed and he died. This happened behind the Government College at Hoshiarpur. Curfew was imposed on the city and the things were quiet for a long time.

Towards the middle of July a Hindu girl eloped with a Muslim from village Banga and came to Garhshankar. When the girl's parents came to know of this they also reached Garhshankar. A meeting took place between the leading Muslims of the town, the parents of the girl, and a few local Hindus which continued for three days. During this period tension between the Hindus and Sikhs on one side and the Muslims on the other increased. Then all of a sudden a bomb exploded in the meeting when one Muslim was killed. The Muslims present in that very meeting fired on the other party and killed 3 Hindus and 1 Sikh. A mob of Muslims collected soon and raided the bazar and took out 47 gallons of petrol from a petrol pump of a Hindu, looted 35 Hindu shops and burnt them. An attempt was made to destroy the pump also but it was not successful. Thereafter the military reached the place and further damage to the town was prevented.

On July 29 a Nihang Sikh who wanted to pass through the village of Susan near Sham Chaurasi was prevented by the Muslims who were guarding the village. This incident brought to the place a good number of Sikhs and Muslims. A fight took place between the two parties and about 10 were the casualties on either side.

A day or two afterwards, with the help of a Sikh Sub-Inspector of Police of the Thana Mahilpur, Sikhs of the area attacked the Muslim village of Parsota. About 30 Muslims were killed and the village was pulled to the ground. Afterwards a few more small villages of Muslims were attacked and people lost their lives. This created panic among the Muslims of Hoshiarpur and they began to leave it. The Muslims of small villages then poured into Hoshiarpur and small scale looting and fire-raising started in the villages. This state of affairs went on till Aug. 14.

On Aug 15 fires started in Hoshiarpur town and many Muslim houses were burnt and a large number of Muslims left the town.

On Aug 17 a train was derailed near Saila and about 200 Muslims were done to death. A huge mob of Hindus and Sikhs then started from the place and ransacked a number of small Muslim villages, killing indiscriminately men, women and children. But there were no abductions.

The mob then attacked the Muslim villages on Dasuha side, killing some Muslims. The Muslims of this area

collected in a big village of Miani where their strength went up to several thousands. Here the Muslims were well-organised and armed with automatic fire-arms. A fierce battle took place. When the attack was going on the attackers misunderstood a direction of their leader and ran back. They jumped into the river Beas and 514 were drowned. The mob reorganised itself and attacked again. About 3000 Muslims were killed and the rest were helter skelter. Looting and arson took place. A few Muslim girls were also abducted.

The mob then attacked the village of Halta on the Id day. About 500 Muslims lost their lives and 25 women were taken away.

A couple of days afterwards the Muslims of a big village Khanora attacked the adjoining Sikh village of Padhiana. The rearguard of the attackers was dressed like Akalis. When they reached the outskirts of Padhiana they gave the cry of 'Sat Sri Akal'. Upon this the Sikhs came out to receive and meet them. These Sikhs were caught up and killed. This raised an alarm among the Sikhs of the village. They rushed out in large numbers. Some of them fell upon the Muslim village of Khanora by making a flanking movement. Bombs exploded on that village and fires went up. The Muslim mob attacking Padhiana now hurried back to the village, but during their retreat, they were picked up and killed without a single exception. Khanora was on fire. The villagers were killed and burnt alive indiscriminately. The attack continued for

6 hours after which the village was levelled to the ground. In this fight 14 Sikhs and 650 Muslims perished excluding those burnt alive in their houses.

After this the Government interfered more actively and killing and burning stopped. Refugee camps were set up and Muslims were evacuated.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT

The communal trouble broke out in Jullundur on August 15, following a stabbing case, and 96-hour curfew was imposed. There were some stabbing incidents during the night. The city was quiet on Aug 16 and 17. On Aug 18, a Hindu was stabbed in Mandi Galli. Following this, there were open clashes between the Hindus and Sikhs on one side and the Muslims on the other. A book-shop owned by a Hindu was set on fire. This was a signal for other communities to start similar operations.

From Aug 18 to 23 there was rioting on a fairly extensive scale. Fire was opened on the office of the Congress Committee from a neighbouring Muslim house and later some people were arrested with 3 rifles and 500 cartridges in their possession. Large quantities of arms were recovered from the Muslim bustis, Basti Sheikhan, Basti Danishmandan and Basti Nau.

On Aug 19 an armed Muslim mob, 9000 strong, collected near Imam Nasir Mosque in Bazar Sheikhan and 10,000 Hindus and Sikhs surrounded Chaharbagh, a predominantly Muslim Locality. Mass evacuation of Muslims to the refugee camp in the Cantonment started on Aug 27. Ahrars and Nationalist Muslims were evacuated by Hindu Congressmen to refugee camps.

Quite a Large number of houses were burnt during the disturbances. Looting of property was also on a large scale. There was slight trouble in the cantonment on Sept. 12. A Muslim had a bomb which exploded in his hands. Four Muslims were killed.

In Nakodar tehsil of Jullundur District, which had a Muslim majority, there was little trouble until Aug 22. Disturbances in the neighbouring tehsils had swelled the population of Nakoder to over 200, 000. There were fairly extensive disturbances on the borders of Hoshiarpur.

The Village Salehnagar near Malsian, in Nakodar tehsil, was raided by an armed Muslim mob from Bet ilaqa on Sept 6. Considerable loss of life and destruction were reported. The millitary was rushed to the affected area. Several other villages in remote parts of the Bet were looted and burnt.

The village of Shamchorasi, 14 miles North-East of Jullundur was attacked by a Hindu-Sikh mob. Troops were rushed to the village and they fired on the mob and 15 attackers were killed. The Muslim refugees were then escorted away from the village. The mob once again fell on the refugees whereupon the troope fired and killed a few more of the mob.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The disturbances in Jammu and Kashmir were more political than communal. Even then a large number of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims have been killed.

Even before August 15 the Pakistan leaders had their schemes up their sleeves regarding the State. It is alleged they began negotiations with Mr. Kak, the then Prime Minister of the State, who had put Sheikh Abdulla behind the bars out of fear and jealousy. Mr. Kak, had fallen into the snare as, it seems, he had been given promise by the Pakistan leaders of the Kashmir Gaddi, if he helped them in their multifarious designs regarding Kashmir. Fortunately, after Gandhi's visit to the State, in the first week of Aug, he was removed from the office.

Soon after Aug 22, when the Congress Ministry in N.W.F.P. was replaced by Abdul Qayum Khan and his party the Pakistan Government tried to crush the Pathanistan movement and switched on the Pathans to Kashmir where they would forget their Pathanistan and wherefrom they would bring gold for their needs. At the same time there was another idea underlying this move. It was to coerce Kashmir to accede to Pakistan.

That the Kashmir affair was well-planned appears from another fact also. Abdul Hamid Lone, brother of Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, the Premier of N.W.F.P., was called by his brother telegraphically. He took 7 days leave and shifted bag and baggage from Kashmir. From N.W.F.P. he applied for 3 months' leave. As soon as

he reached N.W.F.P. the trouble in Kashmir started.

Tribesmen, armed and equipped, entered into the State and began looting all who came their way and carrying away their womenfolk and murdering Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims. Along with it Pakistan put pressure on the State in another way also, viz. by refusing to send it grain, salt, sugar, etc. so vital to the needs of the State, which it could not get excepting through Pakistan. This took place in the month of September. In the beginning of October armed hands moved into Jammu Province from the neighbouring districts of the West Punjab, committed serious acts of depredation on the local inhabitants, burnt villages and towns and put a large number of people to death. Refugees from these areas poured into Jammu. On the Jammu side of the border the local inhabitants, chiefly Hindus and Rajputs, took retaliatory measures and drove out the Muslims living in those border villages. In these border conflicts a very large number of villages were destroyed or burnt by both parties on either side of the frontier.

Meanwhile, the State declared its policy of strict neutrality towards the Dominions of India and Pakistan. In pursuance of that policy it sheltered 100,000 Muslim refugees from Gurdaspur and clothed and fed them at its own expense and gave them passage to Pakistan under the command of its Brig-Gen, Khuda Bux.

The raiders from the West Punjab into Jammu were increased in numbers and spread out over that province. The Kashmir State army which had to meet those raiders

at numerous points, soon found itself broken into small fragments and gradually ceased to be a fighting force. The raiders succeeded in occupying a considerable part of Jammu Province— more especially in Poonch area. Poonch town, Mirpur, kotli, and some other places held out

At this time the State authorities made a request to Pakistan to stop the raiders from going to the State and disturbing it, and launched a vigorous protest against Pakistan's policy of encouraging the raiders. But got no direct and suitable reply. The State now approached the Indian Union for help which it agreed to give but did not expedite sending help.

The leader of the popular organisation in Kashmir, Sheikh Mohd Abdullah, president of Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, was released from prison about the first week of October. The State applied to the Indian Union on Oct. 10 for its accession to the Dominion of India, but it was advised to wait to see which way its people wanted to go, to India or to Pakistan.

Meanwhile, the raiders having increased enormously in number broke into the State from Muzaffarabad and were marching to Srinagar, rapidly moving through the valley, sacking and burning and looting all along the way. They had been stopped for two days near Uri by the State force, 146 in number, under a gallant commander, Brigadier Rajinder Singh. But this force was not sufficient to check the advance of the raiders whose number was very large. The Brigadier then sent a message

to the Maharaja to leave for Jammu forthwith for his safety. The Maharaja left Srinagar at 1.30 a.m. along with Maharani, Raj Kumar, and personal effects, and staff. On the way, he was fired at near Nashyn Nala, close to Batot, by some one from outside, but happily escaped.

When the news of the raiders, presence near Srinagar reached the Union High Command, to save the destruction of Srinagar and the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State by the forces of aggression it accepted the State's accession to the Union, and sent forces by aeroplane to Srinagar, just in time to save it. This way Srinagar was saved. But Muzaffarabad and Baramulla and many other small villages had been sacked and a large number of Hindus and Sikhs, along with many Muslims of the State, had been killed and many women had been taken-away.

On the arrival of the Maharaja at Jammu the Hindus and Sikhs of that place got excited and began killing the Muslims. They attacked the Mohalla of Dhab Khatikan where the Muslims were armed to the teeth. There was a state of seige for 48 hours in which many Muslims were killed and their women were taken away by Hindus and Sikhs. In the attack some of the policemen of the State also participated. Arms were demanded of the Muslims, which they surrendered. The Muslims then were asked to come out to be sent to Pakistan in lorries. On the first day those who came out were loaded in 40 lorries and taken to the Sombha side and let out to go to Pakistan. Next day 32 more trucks were filled in and sent to

Pakistan. Many of these refugees probably did not reach Pakistan as they were killed on the way by Hindu mobs. More Muslims thereafter refused going to Pakistan in that way but liked to be sent there via Suchetgarh. Their lorry-loads were then taken to Suchetgarh and a man would, after leaving them there, come back to Jammu to inform the rest of the Muslims that the evacuees had reached the border safe. One day a Hindu mob followed these lorries to kill the Muslim refugees but the military escort fired on them and killed 200 and wounded 500 of them.

After this Sheikh Abdullah became the head of the Interim Govt. and calm was restored in the State as regards communal disturbances were concerned.

But the raiders continued their work and massacred a large number of Hindus and Sikhs in Mirpur (twenty thousand), Rajori (ten thousand), Naosbera (two thousand), Deva Batala (fifteen hundred), Bhimbhar (three thousand), Uri to Kohala (twenty two thousand), Muzaffarabad (fifteen thousand), and Baramula (five thousand).

Thousands of Hindu and Sikh women were raped and abducted by the raiders from different places in the State and taken to Pakistan especially to Alibeg near Jhelum (the raiders raped and abducted Muslim women also). Many of these beautiful women of Kashmir have not been returned and is there no hope of their being returned.

The raiders burnt down 5,725 houses in Kashmir Valley alone. The greatest destruction was caused in Badgam tehsil (2,339 houses). In Baramula 2,826 houses were destroyed. Srinagar itself suffered a loss of 213 houses.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Even this minority district where the Muslims were only 30.6 per cent i.e., 304,346 out of the total population of 994,575, was not free from Hindu Muslim disturbances. The trouble no doubt was not very great; it started late.

Here a Muslim mob of the village Crumlhala looted and burnt the village of Changan on Oct 20. This roused the feelings of Hindus and there were several conflicts in the district. A few Muslims were killed. A clash occurred between the Muslims and the Hindus at Panipat on Nov. 2, and there were several casualties. Police opened fire killing 6 non Muslims. The Muslims attacked a picket of 4 foot-constables killing two of them. The other two were also missing and were believed to have been killed. The arms and ammunition of these foot-constables were taken away.

On Nov 8, it was again reported that the Muslims of Karnal killed two non-Muslim women, stabbed a Hindu and threw a bomb injuring one person. This resulted in some incidents in retaliation when a few deaths and casualties happened. Police had to open fire to prevent an attack on Muslims in the village of Gharunda killing two Hindus.

The situation in the district then became tense and 20,000 Muslims were evacuated from dangerous areas and transferred to safe Muslim pockets. A number of abductions of Muslim girls also took place.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT

The hooliganism movement in this district commenced on Aug 25. A mob of Muslims fully armed with weapons attacked the Krishna Flour Mills in the city, trying to burn it and kill the labourers and the managerial staff that were mostly Hindus, and Sikhs. The police at once reached the spot and opened fire on the mob, Three Muslims were killed and ten injured. The mob dispersed. Following this incident an 18-hour curfew was clamped on the city. Soon after a bomb exploded in the city. In connection with these events arrests started and about 100 persons were rounded up.

On Sept 1, once again a mob of about 1000 Muslims attacked the village of Bhogpur at night. They started looting and arsoning the houses, and killing Hindus and Sikhs. Seventeen persons were killed and many houses burnt. The police hurried to the village and controlled the situation.

Meanwhile evacuation of the Muslims from the district as agreed upon by both the Governments of India and Pakistan started, and many Muslims began to leave the district. For their protection Muslim military was posted in the district. But this military began to harass Hindus and Sikhs and shot dead eight persons including a woman and three students.

On Oct 12 a big mob of armed Muslims made an attack on the villages of Sattowal and Mangat. They surrounded the villages in order to loot foodgrains, clothes and other valuables. On information a police force

reached the spot and fired on the mob to disperse it. Some casualties took place. The mob murdered some Hindus and Sikhs and looted foodgrains and ornaments worth several thousands of rupees. The same took place in several other villages including Jasian Malikpur, Kaku val, Nurpur and Kathewal.

PATIALA STATE

The story of Patiala is a very tragic one. It shows how the Sikh Maharaja who was determined to keep peace in his State was betrayed by a section of his subjects and how, having become mortified, he changed his mind and wished them good bye. It also shows the preparedness of Muslims in a Sikh State, and their pluck and determination to subdue the State which was a sore in their eyes.

In the last week of August the Maharaja held a meeting of the top-ranking military officers of the State and gave them strict orders to preserve peace in the State even by shooting persons and destroying Mohallas, irrespective of any consideration of the position of those persons. The military thereafter became very strict and vigilant.

The trouble in Patiala started on August 31. Scouting preparedness of the Muslims of the State some members of the Rashtrya Sang began to prepare bombs. A Hindu who was preparing a bomb was killed when a bomb exploded in his hands. On September 1, as ill luck would have it, two Sikh girls who arrived at the Patiala station were teased by 3 to 4 Muslim youngman. This was resented by the Sikhs who happened to be there. They killed one of the Muslims and the others were arrested. The same day a Sikh was murdered at Sirhind and his dead body was brought to Patiala for post-mortem examination. These two dead bodies of a Hindu and a Sikh were being taken to the cremation by the Hindu

and Sikh public, when on the way a Muslim crowd met them and ridiculed them. Thereupon the Hindus and Sikhs took out their swords and challenged the Muslim crowd and killed some of them. The police then reached the spot and threatened to open fire. This made both the parties flee. To prevent further disturbances in the town curfew was imposed for a fortnight.

A week or so afterwards four military trucks, fully loaded with arms, reached the municipal limits of the town. They were stopped there. The State military also reached there and wanted to search those trucks. The Baloch Military in the trucks refused to submit to this search.

The State military at once took up positions whereupon the Balochis gave away. The trucks were searched and the Balochis disarmed and arrested.

The Muslims had formed a plan to make a bold bid to capture power on the day of Janam Asthmi. The plan was drawn up in consultation with a Muslim military officer, Major Latif, and it was that on that day Hindus and Sikhs would be merrymaking and going to temples and it would be easy to pounce upon them. It was arranged that the Muslim police would kill the Hindu and Sikh police officers, the Muslim military would kill Hindu and Sikh Military officers, a section of the mob would seize the magazine, another section would attack the Maharaja and kill him, another section would kill the Hindu and Sikh police, another would abduct their womenfolk and the rest would start loot and arson in the town. On

Sppt. 4, a Muslim mob, 4 or 5 thousand strong, attacked the military and killed 5 of them. The military was successful in overcoming the mob and killed good many of them. This happened in Ghas Mandi. Thereafter the Muslim military and police were disarmed. Searches of Muslims started in the town and military took up positions all over Patiala. In the area of Dr. Hamids' house, a thickly populated Muslim locality, the Muslims fired on the military and there was a regular exchange of shots for full 28 hours, when, afterwards a bulldozer came and pulled down the house of Dr. Hamid. He was caught and taken to the Army Headquarters. He gave a statement of how Patiala Muslims had planned to do mischief in Patiala and kill the Maharaja and he himself was to take his place. He was shot. Seven girls of Dr. Hamid and his relatives were taken hold off by the Hindu and Sikh refugees there. They were asked to embrace Sikhism. On refusal to do so they were killed. From one Muslim house alone 400 used cartridges were found. This made the Maharaja change his attitude towards his Muslim subjects. He called them disloyal to the State and managed to evacuate them by first concentrating them in refugee camps in the State. During the 4 or 5 days they were concentrating in the refugee camps, Hindus and Sikhs of the State, many of whom were refugees from the Rawalpindi side, became very infuriated, and killed many Muslims to show them what sort of treatment had been meted to them by their Muslim brethren in the Rawalpindi District. Some of

the Muslim women while being killed showed courage to die like true and brave Muslims. In these disturbances in the Patiala State something like seven thousand Muslims were killed.

SIMLA DISTRICT

Simla, the summer capital of India, remained quiet during the days of partition and for some time afterwards even. The trouble in Simla started on Sept 2. A handgrenade burst in Tutikandi and one Hindu was injured. Some 30 men, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, were arrested and detained for interrogation. The police carried out 20 searches and seized some knives and acids. The bazars and some shops on the Mall were closed as a protest against the arrests. The D.C. of the place said in an interview. "I am determined to keep order and I do not want trouble in this place. Any community which takes an aggressive attitude will have to be dealt with severely". A deputation of Hindus and Sikhs met the D.C. The misunderstandings having been removed, the bazars opened and normal business began.

On September 10, the trouble recrudesced when Muslims of Laddakhi Mohalla started firing on the Singh Sabha Gurdwara and pandemonium prevailed in Simla. Curfew was imposed in the city. When it was lifted for two hours, shops belonging to both communities were looted and some stabbing cases also occurred. On the relaxation of the curfew, September 12, a bomb explosion took place which killed 5 Muslims and injured 20 more and curfew was reimposed. On September 13, 4 Muslims were stabbed, one of whom succumbed to his injuries. The police and military then were detailed on petrol duty and searches were conducted by the police and

some looted property was recovered. Fifteen Hindus and Sikhs were arrested.

After this the Muslims of the city were escorted to places of safety and evacuated. The curfew was lifted altogether on Oct. 19 which showed it was all quiet.

CHAPTER IX THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION

According to the terms of June 3 plan, to delimit the boundaries of East and West Punjab, a Boundary Commission was appointed. Its personnel was announced on June 28, and only High Court Judges, present or retired, were appointed on it; two were Muslims, one Hindu and one Sikh. They were Mr. Din Mohd, Mr. Justice Munir, Mr. Justice Mehar Chand and Mr. Justice Teja Singh. The chairman was a British lawyer, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who had not been to India at any time before. It was done so on the insistence of Mr Jinnah, ostensibly to give it an appearance of neutrality, but in reality, with the idea that, such a man would not be familiar with the problems and details of the country and would err on the side of the League that had become insistent and aggressive in its demands. The terms of reference for the Boundary Commission were, "to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors." Until the report of the Boundary Commission was put into effect, the provisional boundaries, as announced on June 3, were to be used.

Unfortunately the other factors were not defined, nor was it clarified how much importance was to be given to those factors. This was the cause of so much speculation, misunderstanding and dispute. But the worst part

of the whole affair was that the chairman, who had to preside at two Boundary Commissions—the other one being the Bengal Boundary Commission—and the second one was to meet soon after the first, to decide the cases within a very short time, he never presided in person at any of the two Commissions. The Bengal Commission met at Calcutta and the Punjab Commission met at Lahore. It was the case of a drama without the hero. To keep him informed, the day's proceedings in each Commission were typed, and sent at the end to Sir Cyril Radcliffe, at his Delhi Headquarters. It was said, there, alone, in his room he studied the whole case carefully. But this procedure gave one advantage to Sir Cyril that he could consult the Viceroy, any other official of the Government of India, and the British Government, at any time and on any matter.

As regards the other features in the terms of reference, Mr. Arther Henderson made clear, "The primary function of the Boundary Commission is to demarcate boundaries between two parts on the basis of ascertained contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims" but in cases there might be special factors which would justify departure from this principle. These special factors are being allowed to take into account the circumstances of the Sikh community in the Punjab so that the locating of their religious shrines could be taken into account." Mr. R A. Butler also remarked, "The Boundary Commission should so define the boundary that the maximum portion of the Sikhs should be

included within one conglomerate whole." He recalled the happiest possible relation with the Sikh Community and of all the martial races in the world, the Sikhs had probably built up the greatest reputation."

The Commission called for memoranda from the parties. The Congress, Sikhs, Muslims, Depressed Classes, and Christians submitted their memoranda on behalf of their communities. Some private persons also submitted memoranda on their own behalf.

The proceedings of the Commission started in the High Court, on July 21. The first four days and a half were taken by the Hindu-Sikh case. The next four days and half were taken by the Muslims and then one day was reserved for reply for the Hindu-Sikh case. Sir Sitalvad, a Bombay advocate, advocated the Congress case (Hindu-Sikh case). S. Harnam Singh advocated the Sikh case and Sir Zafar Ullah advocated the Muslim case.

After the public hearing the commission adjourned to Simla where, the chairman, Sir Cyrill was to meet them. Those judges then separately met the Chairman and put forth their own cases. In fact, they were not judges but judge advocates. After advocating their cases, these judge advocates's duty was over. The decision of the case and the judgement were the privileges of Sir Cyri only. The announcement of the Award was scheduled to be made on August 13, but it was held up, possibly, because it was too much erratic and had to be corrected. The anxiously awaited Award was announced on August 17. All Punjabis were extremely impatient to know it.

(The Award).

His Excellency the Governor General

After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla where I joined my colleagues, and we entered upon decisions in the hope of being able to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries. I am greatly in debt to my colleagues for indispensable assistance in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different views, but it became evident in the course of our discussions that the divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide, that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there was not large areas of the Punjab on the west and on the East respectively which provoked no controversy as to which state they should be assigned to; but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, difference of opinion as to the significance of the term "other factors", which we were directed by our term of reference to take into account and as to the weight and value to be attached to those factors, made it impossible to come to any agreed line. In those circumstances my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure 'A' to this award, and in the map

attached thereto, Annexure 'B'. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described in Annexure 'A' and as delineated on the map in Annexure 'B', the descriptions in Annexure 'A' is to prevail.

Certain representations were addressed to the Commission on behalf of the States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur, both of which states were interested in canals whose head-works were situated in the Punjab Province. I have taken the view that an interest of this sort cannot weigh directly in the question before us as to the division of the Punjab between the Indian Union and Pakistan, since the territorial division of the province does not affect rights of private property, and I think that I am entitled to assume with confidence that any agreements that either of those States has made with the provincial Government as to the sharing of water from these canals or otherwise will be respected by whatever Government hereafter assumed jurisdiction over the Headworks concerned. I wish also to make it plain that no decision that is made by this Commission is intended to affect whatever territorial claim the State of Bahawalpur may have in respect of a number of villages lying between Sulemanke Weir and Gurka Ferry.

The task of delimiting a boundary in the Punjab is a difficult one. The claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory, but in my judgment the truly debatable ground in the end proved to be in

and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej river on the one hand, and the river Ravi on the other. The fixing of a boundary in this area was further complicated by the existence of canal systems, so vital to the life of Punjab but developed only under the conception of a single administration, and of system of Road and Rail communications, which have been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the respective situations of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of these cities which each side vigorously maintained. After weighing to the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis on contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the schedule which thus becomes the award of the commission. I am conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it; as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen.

I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas East of the Sutlej River and in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej Rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the west Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities. But I must call the attention to the fact that the Dipalpur Canal

which serves areas in the West Punjab, takes off from the Ferozepur Headworks and I find it difficult to envisage satisfactory demarcation of boundary at the point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on these Headworks.

I have not found it possible to preserve undivided the irrigation system of the Upper Bari Doab Canal, which extends from Madhopur in the Pathankot Tehsil to the Western border of the district of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore-Amritsar district boundary to mitigate some of the consequences of this severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme which supplies power in the districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Sheikhupura and Lyallpur. I think it only right to express the hope that where the drawing of the boundary line cannot avoid disrupting such unitary services as canal irrigation, railways and electric power transmission, a solution may be found by agreement between the two States for some joint control of what has hitherto been a valuable common service.

I am conscious too, that the Award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side, but directly in conflict as to their bearing on the placing of the boundary. If means are to be found to gratify to the full, those sentiments and aspirations, I think that they must be found in

political arrangements with which I am not concerned and not in the decision of a boundary line drawn under the terms of reference of this Commission.

Sd/- Cyril Radcliffe.

The 12th August, 1947

ANNEXURE 'A'

1. The boundary between the East and the West Punjab shall commence on the north at the point where the West branch of the Ujh river enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir. The boundary shall follow the line of that river down the Western boundary of Pathankot to the point where the Pathankot—Shakargarh and Gurdaspur Tehsils meet. The Tehsil boundary and not the actual course of the Ujh river shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.
2. From the point of meeting of the three Tehsils above mentioned, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall follow the line of the Ujh river to its junction with the river Ravi and thereafter the line of the river Ravi along the boundary between the Tehsils of Gurdaspur and Shakargarh, the boundary between the Tehsils of Batala and Shakargarh, the boundary between the tehsils of Batala and Narowall, and the boundary between the Tehsils of Ajnala and Narowal and the boundary between the Tehsils of Ajnala and Shahdara, to the point on the river Ravi where the district of Amritsar is divided from the district of Lahore, The Tehsil boundaries referred to, and not the actual course of the river

Ujh or the river Ravi, shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

3. From the point on the river Ravi where the district of Amritsar is divided from the district of Lahore, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall turn southwards following the boundary between the Tehsils of Ajnala and Lahore and then the Tehsils of Tarn Taran and Lahore to the point where the tehsils of Kasur, Lahore and Tarn Taran meet. The line will then turn south-ward along the boundary between the Tehsils of Lahore and Kasur to the point where that boundary meets the north-east corner of village That Jharolian. It will then run along the eastern boundary of that village to its junction with village Chathianwala, turn along the northern boundary of that village, and then run down its eastern boundary to its junction with village Waigal. It will then run along the eastern boundary of village Waigal to its junction with village Kalia, and then along the southern boundary of village Waigal to its junction with village Panhuwan. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of village Panhuwan to its junction with village Gaddoke. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of river Gaddoke to its junction with village Nurwala. It will then turn along the southern boundary of village Gaddoke to its junction with village Kathuni Kalan. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of village Kathuni Kalan to its junction with village Kals and Mastgarh. It will then run along the southern boundary of village

Kathuni Kalan to the north-west corner of village Kals. It will then run along the western boundary of village Kals to its junction with village Khem Karan. The line will then run along the western and southern boundaries of village Khem Karan to its junction with village Maewala. It will then run down the western and southern boundaries of village Maewala, proceeding eastward along the boundaries between village Mahaidepur on the North and village Sheikhupura Kuhna, Kanalpuran, Fatehwala and Mahewala. The line will then turn northward, along the western boundary of village Sahjra to its junction with villages Mahaidepur and Machhike. It will then turn north-eastward along the boundaries between village Machhike and Sahjra and then proceed along the boundary between Rattoke, and Sahjra to the junction between villages Rattoke, Sahjra and Mabbuke. The line will then run north-east between the villages Rattoke and Mabbuke to the junction of village Rattoke Mabbuke and Gajjal. From that point the line will run along the boundary between villages Mabbuke and Gajjal, and then turn South along the eastern boundary of village Mabbuke to its junction with village Nagar Aimanpur. It will then turn along the north-eastern boundary of village Nagar Aimanpur, and run along its eastern boundary to its junction with village Masteke. From there it will run along the eastern boundary of village Masteke to where it meets the boundary between the Tehsils of Kasur and Ferozepur.

The line will then run in a south westerly division down the Sutlej river on the boundary between the districts of Lahore and Ferozepur to the point where the districts of Ferozepur, Lahore and Montgomery meet. It will continue along the boundary between the districts of Ferozepur and Montgomery to the point where the boundary meets the border of Bahawalpur State. The district boundaries, and not the actual course of the Sutlej river, shall in each case constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab

It is my intention that this boundary line should ensure that the canal Headworks at Sulemanki will fall within the territorial jurisdiction of West Punjab. If the existing delimitation of the boundaries of Montgomery District does not ensure this, I award to the West Punjab so much of the territory concerned as covers the Headworks, and the boundary shall be adjusted accordingly.

6. So much of the Punjab Province as lies to the West of the line demarcated in the preceding paragraphs shall be the territory of the West Punjab. So much of the territory of the Punjab Province as lies to the east of that line shall be the territory of the East Punjab.

(Sd.) K.L.K. SUNDERAN,
Officer on Special Duty.

CHAPTER XV. THE PUNJAB BOUNDARY FORCE.

As agreed by both the Dominions, a special Military Force called the Punjab Boundary Force was set up to work directly under the Supreme Commander. This force was to aid the Civil Administration and was responsible for the maintenance of Law and Order in the 12 Districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, and Sialkot which were disputed by the parties. The Force was to hold responsibility until a date to be specified later. Major General Rees was the Commander of the Force and he was assisted by Brigadier Mohd. Ayub Khan and Brigadier Digamber Singh, Brar, the former representing Pakistan and the latter the Indian Dominion. The Force under the command of Major General W. Rees, had its Headquarters at Lahore. In addition to the Fourth Indian Division, General Rees was assisted by Headquarters Dehradun, as well as the Headquarters of the Sub-areas and the Mobile Brigades in the area. The object of the Force was that it would remain on this impartial task as long as necessary, working under the direct orders of the Supreme Commander. "This force could make arrests and open fire at any place where they found such action necessary. Regarding the character of the force, General Rees remarked: The Force will remain impartial and

neutral and act with the sole object of preserving law and order which was their responsibility. In doing so the military need not consult the civil authorities or await their orders but will act independently in any difficult situation requiring immediate action."

But unfortunately the Boundary Force could not act up to expectations and there were numerous examples of its inefficiency and partiality. The Force was consequently dissolved before time.

According to Mr H.S. Kunzru, a member of the constituent Assembly. "Its ignominious failure led to its abolition. For some reasons which is not known a majority of the force is understood to have been employed in the East Punjab districts. In spite of the severe strain imposed on it, it is believed to have maintained its discipline but the same cannot be said of that part of the Force which was kept in the West Punjab. What happened at Sheikhupura, where British officers were present, and one British officer was reported to have been responsible for a large number of cases among non-Muslims, is too well known to need repetition. There have been other reported instances, too, of the misbehaviour of the force in the West.

"The officer Commanding of the Punjab Boundary Force was British, every Brigade Commander was British and 90 percent more of the Unit Commanders were British. Had the Force acted impartially the situation would very probably have been brought under control and the British officers would rightly have been given

the credit for this achievement. They must, therefore, equally legitimately bear the credit for its failure, and the resulting catastrophe. This conduct calls for enquiry, but we are not aware that it has been or will be instituted.

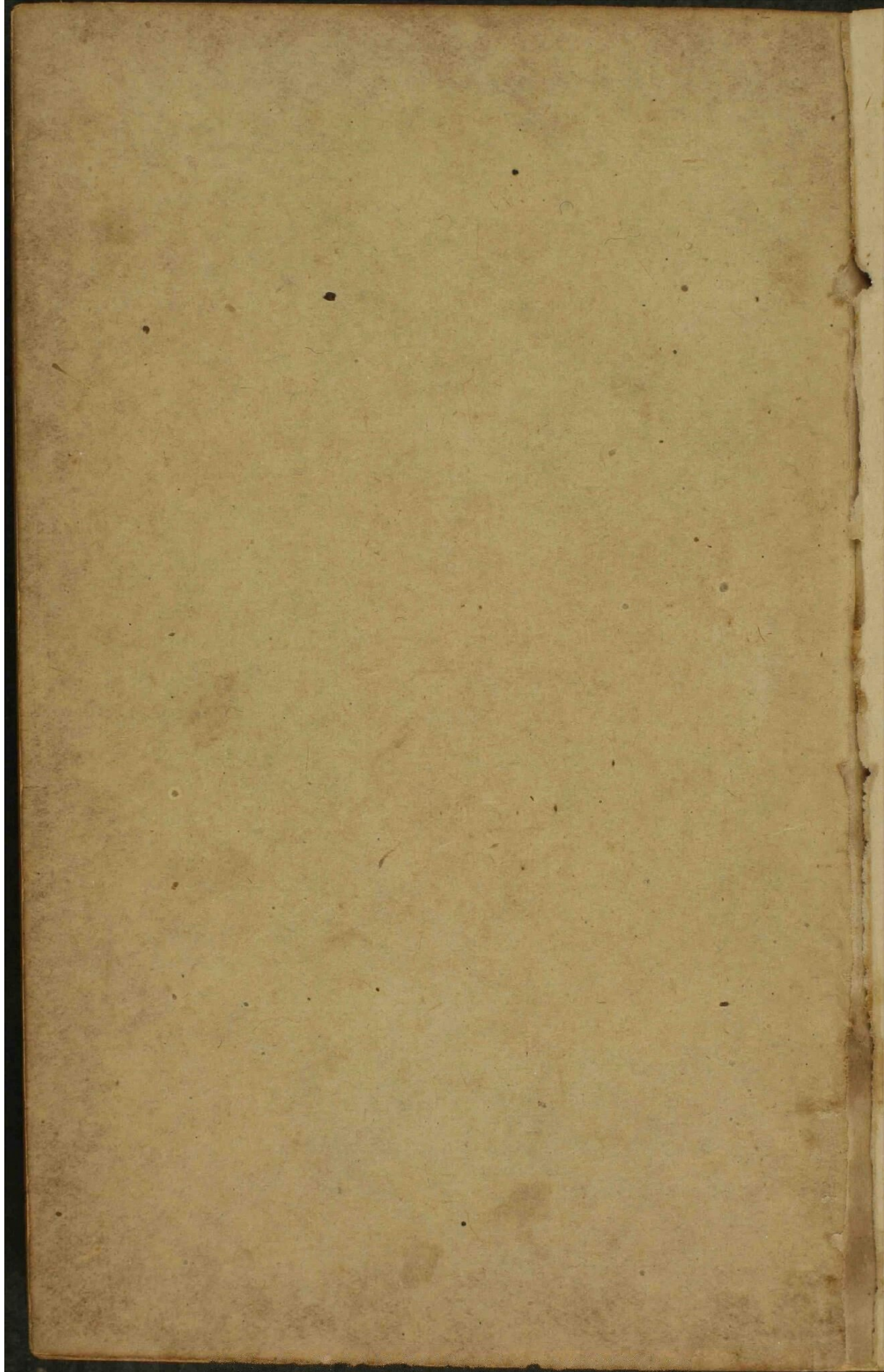
" Again of the troops engaged in evacuating I understand that 80 or 90 percent are occupied in guarding Muslim refugee camps. Very few men, therefore are available for escorting non-Muslim convoys."

It is for these reasons, and may be many more, that the Punjab Boundary Force was abolished. In this connection General Mohan Singh of I N A observed. "I as a soldier am firmly convinced that if General Rees had wanted to control the situation in the Punjab, he could have done so with the resources at his disposal." The very fact that the Force was abolished before time shows that it had run into disfavour with one or both the Dominion Governments.

he End.

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